

LONDINI.
AN. M. D. L.
VII.

H Brooke

THE
BOKE NAMED

THE GOVERNMENT OF

THE CITIES OF

THE CITIES OF

THE CITIES OF

LONDON.

AMMDL.

VII.

THE PROHEME

of Sir Thomas Elyote knyght, vnto
to the moste noble and victorions prince
kinge Henry the eighth, by the grace of
god kyng of England, Fraunce, and
Ireland, defender of the faith, and in
earth of the church of England, &
also of Ireland supreme heade



Late Considerynge,
moste excellent prince and
myne onely redoubted So
uereygne Lord, my duetye,
that I owe to my naturall
countreie, with my faythe
also of alligeaunce and
othe, wherewith I am double bounde vnto
to your maistec, moreouer the accompte
that I haue to render for that oure lyttell sa
let deliuered to me, to employ (as I suppose)
to the encrease of vertue, I am (as god iudge
me) violently stered to divulgate or set forth
some parte of my studie, trustyng thereby to
acquyte me of my dueties to god, your high
nes, and thys my countreie. Wherfore taking
comfozt and boldnesse, partly of your graces
moste beneuolent inclination toward the vs
niuersall weale of your subiectes, partly in
flamed with zeale, I haue nowe enterprised

A.M.

The prohemie.

to describe in our vulgare tongue, the forme of
a iuste publike weale whiche matter I haue
gathered, as wel of the saynges of molle nos-
ble autors (grekes and latines) as by myne
owne experiente: I beinge continuallie trap-
ned in some dayelye assayres of the publike
weale of this your most noble realme almost
from my childehod. Whych attemptate is not
of presumption to teache anye person, I my
selfe hauing most nede of teachynge: But on-
ly to the intent that men, whiche wyl be stu-
dious aboute the weale publike, maye fynde
the thynges therto expedient compendiouslye
writen. And for as muche as this presente
booke treateth of the education of them, that
hereafter maye be deemed woorthie to bee go-
uernours of the publike weale vnder youre
highenesse (whiche Plato asseymeth to bee
the fyrste and chiefe parte of a publike weale
Salomon saynge also, where gouernours
bee not, the people shall falle in to ruine.) I
therefore haue named it the Gouernour, and
do nowe dedicate it vnto youre highenesse
as the fyrst frutes of my studye: with this
sayng that your most excellent wysedome wyl
therin esteeme my loyall heart and diligent en-
deuour, by the example of Detaxerres, the nos-
ble kynge of Persia, who reiected not the poore
husbande man, which offred to him hys home
ly hande full of cleane water, but moste gra-
tiouslye receiued it with thankes, esteemyng
the present not after the value, but rather so
the

The prohemie.

the wyl of the geuer, Semblably hynged As
Alexander reigned with hym the poete cheri-
lus honourably, for wrytyng his historie, al-
though that the poete was but of a small estis-
macion: whyche that prince dyd not for lacke
of iudgement, he being of excellent learning, as
disciple to Aristotle, but to thentent that bys
liberalitee employed on cherilus, shulde ani-
mate oꝝ geue courage to others muche better
learned, to contende with hym in a sembla-
ble enterpryse, And if, moſte vertuous prince,
I maye perceiue your highnes to be herewith
pleased, I shall soone after (god geuyng
me gouernelle) present your grace with the
residue of my studie and labours, wherein
your highnes shall well perceiue, that I no
thyng esteeme so muche in this world, as your
royal estate (my moſte dere ſouereigne lord,
and the publyke weale of my countreie) pro-
testyng vnto your excellent maieſtee, that
where I comende herein anye one vertue, oꝝ
dyspraye anye one vyce, I meane the gene-
rall deſcription of thons and the other, with-
out any other particulae meanyng to the res-
pyche of anye one perſonne: to the whyche
proteſtacion, I am nowe dyuen through the
malignytee of this preſent tyme, all dyſpoſed
to malicious detractiō. Wherefoze I moſte
humbly beſeche your highnes, to dayne to be
patrone and defendour of this lyttell worke,
agayne the aſſaultes of maligne enterprys-
ours: whyche ſaylle not to rente and deface
the

The table of

the renoume of wylters, they theyn selves be-
yng in nothyng to the publike weale profita-
ble: whyche is by noo man sooner perceiued,
than by your hyghnes, beyng bothe in wys-
dome and very nobilitie, equall to the moste
excellente prynces, whome I beise the god ye
maye surmount in long lyfe and perfect fel-
lities. Amen.

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The firste booke

8

The signification of a publike
weale, and why it is called
in latine Respublica.



Andlike weale is in sundry
wyse besyded by philoso-
phes, but knowyng by ex-
perience, that the often repe-
ticion of any thing of gravis
or sad importancie, wyl be
tedious to the readers. of
this woork, who perchance for the more
parte haue not ben trained in lerninge rote-
ning semblable matier: I haue compiled one
definition out of manye, in as compendious
fourme, as my poore wyse can deuise: true
kinge that in those fewe wordes the true sig-
nification of a publike weale shall euidently
appere, to them whom reason can satisfy.

A publike weale is a bodie sprynging, com-
pacte or made of sundry estates and degrees
of men, whiche is disposed by the ordge of
equitee, and gouerned by the rule and moder-
acion of reason. In the latin tongue it is cal-
led Respublica, of the whych the worde Res,
hath diuers significacions, I doth not onely
betoken that, that is called a thing, whiche is
distincte fro the a person, but also signifyeth
estate, condicion substance, and profite.

In our old vulgare, profite is called weale,
And it is called a wealthy countrey, wherein
all thyngs that is profitable: And he is a

A.

wealthy

Publike
weale.

Respubl
ca.

Profite.

The Gouvernour.

Publike.

welthy man, that is rich in money and substance, Publike (as Varro saith) is directed of people: whych in latine is called **Populus**. Wherefore it seemeth, that men haue ben longe abused, in calling Rempublicam, a commune weale. And they whiche do suppose it so to be called, for that, that euery thinge shuld be to all men in commune, without discrepance of anye estate or condition, be therto moued moze by sensualitee, than by anye good reason or inclination to humanitie. And that shall soone appere vnto them, that wyl be satisfied either with auctoritee, or with natural orde and example.

populus.

¶ First the propre and true significacion of the wordes, Publike and Comune, which be borrowed of the latin tongue, for the insufficiencie of our owne language, shal sufficiently declare the blindnes of them, whiche haue hitherto holden and maintained the sayde opinions. As I haue sayd, publike take his beginning of people, whych in latine is **Populus**: in whiche woorde is contained all the inhabitantes of a realme or citee, of what estate or condition soeuer they be.

plebs.

¶ Plebs in englishe, is called the comunalte, whych signifieth onelye the multitude, wherein be contained the base and vulgare inhabitantes, not auanced to any honoure or dignitee: which is also vsed in our dayly communication, for in the citee of London, and other citees, they that be none aldermen, or shiriffes, be called comuners. And in the countrie

they at a session, or other assēbly, if no gentill men be therat, the sayng is, that there was none but the communaltee, whych the proverth, in mine opinion, that Plebs in latine, is in english communaltee: and Plebis be comuners.

Plebeis.

¶ And consequently there maye appere like diuersitie to be in english, betwene a publike weale and a commune weale, as shulde be in latine, betwene Res publica, and Res plebeia.

publike & commune

And after that signification, if there shulde be a comune weale, either the comuners onely muste be welthy, and the gentill and noble men neddy and miserable: or els excluding gentilitie, all men must be of one degree and sort, and a newe name provided. For as muche as Plebs, in latin, and comuners in english,

be wordes onely made for the discrepance of degrees, wherof procedeth Ordre: whych in thynges as well naturall as supernaturall, hath ever had suche a preeminēce, that thereby the incōprehensible maiestee of god, as it were by a bright lerne of a torche or candle, is declared to the blinde inhabitantes of this world.

Ordre.

¶ Moreover, take awaye Ordre from all thynges, what shulde than remaine? Certes nothing finally, except some man wold imagine esteemes, Chaos, whych of some is expounded, a confuse mixture.

Chaos.

¶ Also where there is any lacke of ordre, nedes must be perpetual cōflicte. And in thynges subiecte to nature, nothyng of him selfe onely maye be nourished: but whan he hath desstroyed that, wherewith he dothe participate,

The Governour.

by the ordre of his creacion, he hym selfe of necessitee muste than perishe, wherof ensue the vniuersall dissolution.

But nowe to proue by example of those thinges, that be within the compasse of mans knowlage, of what estimation Ordre is, not onely amonge men, but also with god, all be it his wisdom, bountee, and magnificence, can be with no tongue or pen sufficiently expressed. Hath not he set degrees and estates in al his glorious worke?

Firste in his heavenly ministers, whome, as the church affirmeth, he hath constituted to bee in diuers degrees, called hierarches. Also Christ saith, by his euangeliste, that in the house of his father (whych he is god) bee many mansions.

Elemen-
tes. **B**ut to treat of that, whiche by natural vnderstanding maye be comprehended. Beholde the foure elementes, wherof the bodye of man is compacte, how they be set in their places, called spheres, higher or lower, accordinge to the soueraignetee of theyr natures: that is to saye, the fyre, as the most pure element, having in it nothinge, that is corruptible, in his place, is highest, and aboue other elementes. The ayer, whiche nexte to the fyre, is moste pure in substance, is in the seconde sphere or place. The water, whiche is some what consolidate, and approcheth to corruption, is nexte vnto the earth: The earth whiche is of substance grosse and ponderous, is set, of al elementes, moste lowest.

Beholde

¶ Behold also the ordre, that god hath put generally in all his creatures, begynnynge at the most inferiour or base, and ascendynge upward: he made not onely herbes to garnyssh the earth, but also trees of a more eminent stature, than herbes: and yet in the one and the other, be degrees of qualittes, some pleasant to beholde, some delicate or good in taste, or ther holsome and medicinable, some commodious and necessary. Semblably in byrdes, beastes, and fyshes, some be good for the sustenance of man: some beare thynges profitable to sundrye vles: other be apte to occupacion and labour: in dyuers is strengthe and fiercenes onelye: in many is bothe strengthe and commoditie: some other serue for pleasure: none of them hath all these qualittes: for we haue the more parte or many, specially beautie, strength and profite. But where any is founde, that hath manye of the sayde propertees, he is more sette by, than all the other, and by that estimation the ordre of hys place and degree evidently appereth. So that euery kinde of trees, herbes, byrdes, beastes, and fyshes, besyde theyr diuersitie of fourmes, haue (as who saythe) a peculier disposition, appropried vnto them, by god their creator: so that in euery thyng is ordre, and without ordre maye bee nothing stable or permanent. And it maye not be called Ordre, except it do conteine in it, degrees, hygh and base, accordyng to the merite or estimation of the thyng that is ordered.

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Thewe to retorne to the astate of manne kynde, for whose vse all the sayde creatures were ordeined of god, and also excelleth the all, by prerogative of knowlage and wyses dome. It seemeth, that in him shuld be no lesse prouidence of god declared, thā in the inferiour creatures: but rather with a more perfect order and disposiciō. And therfore it appereth, that god geueth not to euery manne like giftes of grace, or of nature, but to some more, to some lesse, as it liketh his diuine maiestee. Ne they be not in cōmune (as fantastical fooles wolde haue all thynges) nor one mā hath not al vertues and good qualitees.

Under
standynge.

Understandynge, for as muche as vnderstandynge is the moste excellent gifte, that man can receiue in his creation, whereby he dothe appoche moste nyghe vnto the similitude of god, whiche vnderstandynge is the principall parte of the soule: It is therfore congruent, and accoꝝding, that as one excelleth an other, in that influence, as therby becomyng nexte to the similitude of his maker: so shulde the astate of his person be auanced in degree, or place, where vnderstandynge maye profit, which is also distributed into sundry vles, facultees, and offices, necessarye for the liuyng and gouernaunce of mankinde. And like as the angels, whiche be moste feruente in contemplacion, be highest exalted in glory (after the opiniō of holy doctours) and also the fyre, whiche is the moste pure of elementes, and also doth clarify the other inferiour elementes.

elementes, is deputed to the highest sphere
or place. So in this worlde, they, which ex-
celle other in this influence of vnderstandinge,
and do imploye it to the deteininge of other
within the boundes of reason, and shewe
them, how to prouide for theyr necessary lyf
winge: such ought to be sette in a moze high
place, than the residue, where they maye see,
and also be sene, that by the beames of their
excellent witte, shewed through the glasse of
auctoritee, other of inferiour vnderstanding,
maye be directed to the waye of vertue and
commodious liuing.

¶ And vnto men of such vertue, by veraye
equitte apperteyneth Honour, as theyr iuste
rewarde and duetye: whiche by other mens
labours, muste also be maintained, according **Honour.**
to their merites. For as muche as the layde
persons, excellenge in knowlage, wherby or
ther be gouerned: bee ministres for the onely
profite and comodities of them, whiche haue
not equal vnderstanding: where they, whiche
do exercise artificall science, or corporall la-
bour, doe not trauaile for theyr superiours
onely, but also for theyr owne necessitee. So
the husbände man feedeth him selfe and the
clothe maker: the clothe maker apparailleth
him selfe and the husbände: they bothe socour
other artificers: other artificers them: they
other artificers, them that be gouernours.

¶ But they that be gouernours (as I be
fore saied) nothinge do acquire by the layde
influence of knowlage for their owne neces-

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stees, but do imploy al the powers of their wittes, and their diligence, to the onely preservation of other their inferiours. Amonge whiche inferiours also behoueth to be a discipline and ordye, according to reason that is that the sloothful or idle person, do not participate with him, that is industrious, & taketh peine, whereby the fruites of his labours should be diminished, wherein shoulde be none equalitie, but therof shulde procede discouragement, and finally dissolution, for lacke of prouision. Wherefore it can none other wyse stande with reason, but that the estate of the person in prehemynence of lpyng, shulde be esteemed, with his vnderstanding, labour, and policie: where vnto muste be added an augmentation of honour and substance, whiche not onely impresseth a reuerence, wherof proceedeth due obedience amonge subiectes, but also inflameth men, naturallie inclined to idlenes, or sensuall appetite, to couette lyke fortune, and for that cause, to dispose them to studie or occupation.

¶ Nowe to conclude my fyrste assertion or argument. Where all thing is comtine, there lacketh ordye: and where order lacketh, there all thing is odious, and vncomlye. And that haue we in dayly experience, for the panhes and pottes garnishe well the kitchinge, and yet shulde they be to the chambze none ornament. Also the beddes, testars and pillowes, beseme not the hal, no more than the carpettes & kushines become the stable. Deblable
the

the potter and tinker, on ly perfecte in their
 crafte, shall littel do in the ministracion of
 Justice. A ploughman or carter shall make
 but a feble answer to an ambassador. Also
 a waiuer or fuller, should be an vnmete capi-
 tayne of an army, or in anye other office of a
 gouernour. Wherfore to conclude, it is only
 a publike weale, where, like as god hath dis-
 posed the sayde influence of vnderstandynge,
 is also appointed degrees and places, accord-
 ding to the excellency therof, and thereto also
 would be substance conuenient, and necessary,
 for the ornamēt of the same: whych also im-
 presseth a reuerence and due obedience to the
 vulgare people or cōmunalte, and without
 that, it can be no moze sayde, that there is a
 publike weale, than it maye be affirmed, that
 a house without his propre and necessary or-
 namentes, is wel and sufficiently furnished.

☞ That one soueraigne gouernour ought
 to be in a publike weale And what dama-
 ge hath hapned, where a multitude
 hath had equal auctorite without
 any soueraigne. Cap. ii.



like as to a castel or fortres suf-
 fiseeth one owner or soueraine
 where any ma be of like pos-
 sesse & auctoritee, seidome com-
 meth by worke to perfectiō, or
 being al redy made, where the
 one diligentlpe ouerseth, and the other ne-

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glecteth, in that contention all is subverted
and commeth to ruine. In semblable wise
dothe a publike weale, that hath no chiefe
gouvernours than one. Example we maye
take of the Grekes, amonge whome in di-
uers citees, were diuers fourmes of pu-
blike weales, governed by multitudes: wher
in one was most tollerable, where the gover-
nauce and rule was alwaye permitted to
them, whiche excelled in vertue, and was in
the Greke tongue called Aristocratia, in las-
t in Optimorum potentia, in englishe, the rule
of men of beste disposition, whiche the The-
banes of long time observed.

An other publike weale was amonge the
Athenienses, where equalitee was of estate
amonge the people, and onelye by theyr hole
consente, theyr Citie and dominions were
gouverned: whiche mought well be called a
Monster with manye heades, nor neuer it
was certaine or stable, and oftentimes they
banished, or slewe the beste citezins, whiche
by their vertue and wisdom: hadde moste
profited the publike weale. This maner of
gouvernauce was called in greke Democ-
ratia, in latine Popularis potentia, in en-
glishe, the rule of the comminaltee. Of these
two governauces none maye be sufficient.
For in the first, which consisteth of good mē,
vertue is not so constant in a multitude, but
that some being ones in auctoritee, be incen-
sed with glorie, some with ambition, other
with couerise & desire of treasure or possessions
wherby

democra-
tia.

wherby they falle into contention, & finally,
where any achieueth the superiortie, the hole
gouernance is reduced vnto a few in numbre,
whiche fearpnge the multitude, & their mutabi-
lityte, to the intent to kepe them in drede to
rebell, ruleth by terror & crueltie, thinkynge
therby, to kepe the selfe in suertie. Notwith-
standynge, rancour coarted, and longe detep-
ned in a narrowe rounge, at the laste brysteth
out, with intollerable violence, & bringeth all
to confusion. For the power, that is practi-
sed to the hurte of many, can not continue.

The popular astate, if it any thing do var-
ry from equalitie of substance, or estimaciō, or
that the multitude of people haue ouer mu-
che libertie, of necessitee one of these in cōue-
niēces must hapē, either tyrāni, wher he that
is to much in fauor, wold be eleuate, & suffer
none equalitie, or elles into the rage of a com-
munaltee, whiche of all rules is mooste to be
feared. For lyke as the communys, yf they
fele some seueritie, do humbly serue & obey,
so where they imbrasing a licence, refuse to
be brydeled, do flyng and plunge: and if they
ones throw downe their gouernour, they or-
der euery thinge without iustice, onelye with
vengeāce and crueltee, & with incomparable
difficultee, and vnneth by anye wysedome, be
pacified & brought again into order. Wher-
fore vndoubtedly, the best and the mooste sure
gouernance, is by one kyng or prince, which
ruleth onely for the weale of his people: and
that maner of gouernance is best approued,
and

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and hath longest continued, and is most sufficient. For who can denye, but that all thyng, in heuen and earth is gouerned by one god, by one perpetuall orde, by one prouidence? One son ruleth ouer the daye, & one Moone ouer the nyghte. And to descende downe to the earthe.

Bees.

In a lyttell beeste, whych of all other is mooste to be meruailed at, I meane the Bee, is left to man by nature, as it cometh, a perpetual figure, of a iust gouernaunce or rule: who haue among them, one principall Bee, for their gouernour, whych excelleth all other in greatnes, yet hath he no prycke or stynge, but in him is moze knowlage thanne in the residue. For if the daye folowynge shall bee faire and drye, and that the bees maye issue out of their stalles, without peryll of rayne, or vehement wynde, in the mornynge early he calleth them, makynge a noyse, as it were the sowne of a horne, or a trumpet, and with that, all the residue prepare them to labour, and fleeth abroad, gatherynge nothyng, but that shall be swete and profitable, althoughe they sytte often tymes on herbes, and other thynges, that be venemous and stynkynge. The capitaine hym selfe, laboureth not for his sustinaunce, but all the other for him: he only seeth, that if anye drane, or other vnprofitable bee, entreth into the hyue, and confuseth the hony, gathered by other, that he be immediatly expelled fro that company. And whan there is a nother nymbre of bees encreased

creased, they semblably haue also a capitaine, whych he not suffered to continue with the other. Wherfore this new cōpanye, gathered in a warme, hauing their capitaine amonge theim, and enuironing hym, to preserve him from harme, issue forth, sekynge a newe habitation: whych they finde in some tree, excepte with some pleasaunte noyse, they be allured and conueied vnto an other hye.

¶ I suppose, who seriously beholdeth this example, hath any commendable wit, shall thereof gather muche matter, to the fourmyng of a publyke weale. But because I maye not be long therein, cōsidering my purpose, I wold the reader hereof, if he be lerned, shulde repaire to the Georgikes of Virgile, or to Pliny, or Columellawhere he shal finde the exāple more ample, and better declared.

¶ And if anye desyreth to haue the gouernance of one person, proued by histories, lette him firste resorte to the holpe scripture, where he shall finde, that almightee god commanded Moyses only, to bringe his elected people out of captiuitie, geuing onely to hym that auctoritee, without appointinge to hym any other assistance of equal power or dignitie, excepte in the message to kynge Pharao, wherein Aaron, rather as a minister thanne a companion, went with Moyses. But only Moyses conducted the people throughe the redde sea, he onely gouerned the fortie yeres in deserte. And because Dathan and Abiron Disdeigned his rule, and coueted to be equal with

Moyses.

Aaron.

Dathan & Abiron,
with

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The coun-
saile of
Hietro.

Josue suc-
cessour to
Moses.

Saul.

Roboaz.

with him, the earth opened, & fyre issued out,
and swallowed them in, with all their holle
familie, and confederates, to the numbre of
14700. And all though Hietro, Moses sa-
ther in lawe, counsailed hym to departe his
impossible labours in continual iugementes,
vnto the wise men, that were in his compa-
ny: he not withstandinge, styll retained the so-
ueraignete, by goddes commandement, vn-
till a litell before he died, he resigned it to
Josue, assigned by god to be ruler after him.

¶ Semblably after the death of Josue, by
the space of 246. yerres, succeeded from tyme
to tyme, one ruler among the Jewes, whiche
was chosen for his excellency in vertue, & spe-
cially iustice, wherfore he was called the iuge
vntill the Israelites desired of almighty god
to let the haue a kynge, as other people had:
who appointed to theim Saule, to be theyr
kynge, who excelled al other in stature.

¶ And so successiuelly one kynge governed al
the people of Israel, vnto the tyme of Ro-
boaz, son of the noble king Salomon. Who
beyng vnlyke to his father in wysdome,
practised tyranny among his people. Wher-
fore .x. partes of theim, whiche they called
Eribus, forsoke hym, & elected Hieroboam,
late seruant to Salomon, to be their kynge,
onely the .x. parte remainyng with Roboaz.
And so in that royaume were continuallye
two kynges, vntill the kynge of Medes hadde
depopulate the countreye, and broughte the
people in captiuitee to the citee of Babylon.

So that durynge the tyme, that two kynges reigned ouer the Iues, was euer continuall battaile amonge them selves: where if one kyng had alwaye reigned lyke to Dauid or Salomon, of lykelihode the countrey shulde not so sone haue bene brought in captiuitee.

¶ Also in the tyme of the Machabees, as longe as they had but one busshop, wherthe was theyr ruler, and was in the steede of a Prince, they valiantely resisted the gentyls: and as well the Romaynes, than greaue lordes of the worlde, as Persians, and diuers other realmes, despyred to haue with them amitie and aliance: and all the inhabitantes of that countrey, lyued in a great weale and quietnes. But after that by symonye & ambition, there hapned to be two byshoppes, whiche deuided theyr authoritees, and also the Romaynes hadde deuided the realme of Iudea to foure princes, called Tetrarchas, and also constituted a Romayne capytayne or presidente ouer them: amonge the heades there neuer cessed to be sedicion, and perpetuall discorde: wherby at the laste the people was destroyed, and the countrey brought to desolacion and horrible barrennes.

¶ The Grekes, which were assembled in reuenge the reproche of Menelaus, that he toke of the Troians by the rauishing of Helene his wyfe, dydde not they by one assente electe Agamemnon to be theyr imperoure or capitaine: obeyng him as theyr soueraigne, And yng the siege of Troie all thowghe that they

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Princes
of Grece

Agamem
non.

Maiestec

Nestor.
Uilises

they had diuers excellent princes, not onely
equall to him, but also excelleng hym, as in
prowes Achilles, and Aiar Thelemontion: in
wisedome Nestor, and Uilises, and his own
brother, Menelaus: to whome they moughte
haue geuen equal auctoritee with Agamem
non: but those wyle princes considered, that
without a generall capitaine, so manye per
sons as were there, of diuers realmes gather
red together, shulde be by no meanes wel go
uerned. Wherefore Homere called Agamem
non the shepherd of people. They rather were
contented to be vnder one mans obedience,
than severally to vse their auctoritees, or to
ioyne in one power and dignitee, whereby at
the laste shoulde haue sowed dissencion a
monge the people, they beyng separatly ens
clined toward their natural souereigne lord
as it appered in the particuler contention,
that was betwene Achilles and Agamemnon
for their concubines, where Achilles, renoun
cinge the obediēce, that he with al other prin
ces had before promised, at the battaile firste
enterprised agaynst the Trojans. For at
that tyme no littell murmur, & sedition was
moued in the hoste of the grekes, whiche not
withstandynge was wonderfullie pacified:
and the armie vnscattered, by the maiestee of
Agamemnon, topning to him counsaillours,
Nestor and the wittie Uilises.
¶ But to retourne againe, Athenes and o
ther cities of Grece, whan they hadde aban
doned kynges, and concluded to lye as it
wer

were in a cōminaltee, whych abusiuely they called equalitee, how long tyme did anye of them continue in peace & pea what variation had they from the warres? or what noble man had they, whiche auanced the honoure and weale of their citee, whom they dyd not banyshe or slea in prison? Surely it shall appere to them, that will rede Plutarcke, or Emilius Probus, in the lyues of Miltiades, Limon, Themistocles, Aristides, and diuers other noble and valiant capitaines: whych is to long here to reherse.

In likewyse the Romayns, durynge the tyme that they were vnder kynges, whych was by the space of. **Lxliiii.** yeres, were well gouerned, noz neuer was amonge them discord or sedition: But after that by the perswasion of Brutus and Colatinus, whose wyfe (Lucretia) was ravisht by the sonne of Tarquine, kyng of Romayns, not onelye the sayde Tarquine and all his posteritee, were criled out of Rome for euer, but also it was finally determined amonge the people, that neuer after they woulde haue a kynges reigne ouer them. Consequently the cōminaltee moze and moze encroched a licence, & at the laste compelled the Senate to suffre them to chole perely among the, gouernours of their own astate & condicon, whome they called Tribunes: vnder whom they receiued suche audacitee and power, that they finally obtained the high: st auctozite in the publike weale;

kynges in
rome.

Lucretia.

tribunes.

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weale: in so much, that oftentimes they dyd
repele the actes of the Senate, and to those
Tribunes mought a man appele from the
Senate, or anye other office or dignitee. But
what came thereof in conclusion? Surely
whan there was any difficult warre immin-
nent, they were constrained to elect one for
Dictator ueraigne and chiefe of all other, whom they
named Dictator, as it were commaunder,
from whom it was not lawful for any man
to appele. But because there appered to be
in hym the p̄stinate auctoritee and maiestie
of a kynge, they wold no longer suffre hym
to continue in that dignitee, than by the space
of .vi. monethes, except he than resigned it,
and by the consent of the people esteemes
did resume it. Finally vntill Octavius Au-
gustus had destroyed Antony, and also Bru-
tus: and finished all the ciuile warres (that
still war were so called because they were betwene
the same selfe Romayn citizens) the citie of
Rome was neuer long quiet from factions
or seditions amonge the people. And if the
nobles of Rome had not ben men of excel-
lent learning, wysedome, and prowesse, and
that the Senate, the moste noble counsaile
in all the worlde, whiche was firste ordey-
ned by Romulus, and encreased by Cullus
Hostilius, the thyrde kynge of Romans, had
not continued, and with great difficultie re-
seined theyr auctoritee, I suppose verelye,
that the cite of Rome had ben vtterlye des-
olate

folat, some after the expelling of Tarquine. And if it had been estones renewed, it shoulde haue bene xx. tymes destroyed, before the tyme that August^{us} reigned: so much discord was euer in the citie, for lacke of one gouernour.

¶ But what nede we to serche so far from vs, sens we haue sufficient examples nere Florence vnto vs? Behold the estate of Florence and Gene, Gene, noble citiees of Italy, what calamite haue they both susteyned by their own factions, for lacke of a continual gouernour? **Ferraria**

¶ Ferrar, and the most excellēt citie of Venice, hauing dukes, seldome suffre damage, except it happen by outward hostilitye.

¶ We haue also an example at home, whiche is most necessary to be noted.

¶ After that the Saxons by reason had expelled out of England the Britons, which were the anuient inhabitantes, this realme was deuided into sundry regions, or kyngdomes. **England** **diuided.** What misery was the people than in? How this moste noble yle of the world was decerpt and rent in peeces? the people porsued and hunted lyke wolves, or other beastes sauage: none industry auayled, no strength defended, no riches profited. Who wold than haue desired to haue ben rather a man thā a dog, whā men either with sword or with hunger perished, hauing no profite or sustinance of their owne corne or cattel, whiche by mutuall warre was continual ly destroyed: yet the dogges, e, ther las

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kynges that that men coulde not quile come
by, or fedpyng on the dead bodyes, whiche on
every part lay scattered plentiously, dyd cas
tiffye their hungre.

King Ed
gar.

¶ Where finde ye any good lawes, that at
that tyme were made and vsed: or anye com
mendable monumēt, of anye science or craft
in this realme occupied: Suche iniquities ses
med to be than, that by the multitude of so
ueraigne governours, all thynges had ben
brought to confusio, if the noble kige Edgar
had not reduced the monarchy to his pristin
ate estate and figure: whyche broughte to
passe, reason was requied, and people came
to conformittee; & the realme began to take
comfort, and to shewe some visage of a pub
like weale: and so (lauded be god) have con
tinued: but not being alwaye in lyke estate
or cōdition. Albeit, it is not to be dyspaired,
but that the kyng our souerayne lord now
reignyng, & this realme, alway hauinge one
prince, lyke vnto his highnes, equall to the
auncient pryncis in vertue & courage, it shall
be reduced (god so disposing) vnto a publike
weale, excellyng all other in preeminence of
vertue, & abundance of thynges necessary.

¶ But forasmuche as I do well perceiue,
that to write of the office or dutye of a soue
raigne governour or pryncce, farre exceedeth
the compasse of my lernynge, holpe scripture
affirmyng, that the hertes of pryncis be in
goddes own handes and disposition: I wyl
ther;

therfore kepe my pen within the space that
is described to me, by the. iiii. noble masters,
reason, lernyng, and experieñce. And by their
enseignement or teaching, I wil ordinaſſe
treat of the two partes of a publike weale,
wherof the one ſhalbe named due admini- **Due ad-**
ſtraciō, thoether neceſſary occupation, whiche **ministra-**
ſhall be diuided into two volumes. In the **tion.**
fyſt ſhall be comprehended the beſt fourme **Occupas-**
of education or byngynge vp of noble chil- **cion.**
dren, from their natiuitie, in ſuch maner as
they maye be found worthy and able to
be gouernours of a publyke weale. The ſe-
conde volume, which god grantyng me qui-
etnes, and libertee of mynde, I wyl ſhortly
after ſende forth: It ſhall conteyne all the
remenant, whiche I can either by lernyng
or experieñce fynde apt to the perfection of
a iuſt publike weale: in the whiche, I ſhal
ſo endeuour my ſelfe, that all men, of what
eſtate or condicion ſo euer they bee, ſhall
fynde therein occaſion to bee alwaye vertus
ouſlye occupied: and not without pleaſure,
yf they bee not of the ſchools of Ariſtop-
pus, or Apitius, of whome the one ſup-
poſed ſelycitee to bee onelye in lecherie, the
other in delicate feedynge and gluttonye.
Frome whoſe ſharpe talones and cruelle
teethe, I beſeche all gentyll readers to de-
ſende theſe warkes, whiche for theyr commo-
ditee is onely compiled.

The Governour.

That in a publyke weale ought to be inferior governours called Magistrates, which shalbe appointed of those by the souerayne governour. Capi. iii.



Here be bothe reasons and examples vndoubtedly infinite, wherby maye be proved that there can be no perfecte publyke weale, wthoute one capitall and souerayne governour, whych

maye long endure or continue. But iens one mortall man can not haue knowledge of all thynges done in a realme or large dominion, and at one time discusse al controuersies, rectifourme all transgressions, and exploite all consultations, concluded as wel for outwarde as inwarde affayres: it is expedient, and also nedefull, that vnder the capitall gouernor be sundry meane auctorities, as it were appointing him in the distribucion of iustice in sundry partes of a huge multitude: wherby his labours being leuigate, and made more tolerable, he shall gouerne with the better aduise, and consequently with a more perfecte gouernance. And as Iesus Sirach saith.

Capi. 6.

The multitude of wise men is the wealth of the worlde. They whych haue suche auctorities to them committed, may be called inferior governours, hauing respecte to their office or duitie, wherein is also a representacion of gouernance: Al be it they be named in latin

Magi-

Magistratus. And hereafter I intend to call them Magistrates, lackynge an other more couenient word in englyshe: but that wyl I do in the seconde parte of this worke, where I purpose to write of thier sundrye offices, or effectes of their auctoritee.

But forasmuche as in this part I intend to write of their education and vertue in maners, whiche they haue in comūne with princes, in as muche as therby they shall aswell by example, as by auctoritee, ordeine wel them, whyche by their capitall gouernour, shall be to their rule comitted, I maye without annoiance of anye man, name them gouernours at this tyme, appropriatyng to the soueraines names of kynges & princes, sens of a longe custome, these names in commune souerme of speakynge be in a higher preeminence & estimation than gouernours. That in euery comune weale ought to be a greate numbꝛe of suche maner of persons, it is partlye proued in the chapter nexte before writen, where I haue spoken of the commoditee of ordeine.

Also Reason and commune experience playnly declare, that where the dominion is large and populous, there it is conuenient, that a prince haue manye inferiour gouernours, whych be named of Aristotle, his eyes, eares, handes, and legges: whyche if they be of the best sorte (as he furthermore saith) it seemeth impossible, a countrey not to be well gouerned by good lawes. And except

B. iiii.

excel

Politie
11.4.

The Governour.

excellent vertue and learnynge doo inable a man of the base astate of the comminaltee, to be thought of all men woꝛthy to be so much the auanted, eis suche gouernours woulde be chosen out of that astate of men, whyche be called woꝛthyful, yf amonge them may be founden a sufficient numbre, oz nate wpyth vertue and wysedome, meete for suche purpose, and that for sundry causes.

First it is of good congruence, that the superiours in condicion oz hauiour, shoulde haue also pꝛeeminence in administracion, if they be not inferiour to other in vertue.

Also they haupng of their owne reuenties certayne, wherby they haue competente substance to lyue without takynge rewardes: it is likely that they wyl not be so despyous of lucre, wherof maye be ingendꝛed corrupcion, as they, whyche haue very litell oz nothyng so certayne.

Gentilme. **M**oreouer, where vertue is in a gentyll man, it is comonly mixt with moze suffraunce moze affabilitee & mildnes, tha for the moze part it is in a person rural oz of a veri base linage, and whan it hapneth othertwyle, it is to be accōpted lothsom and monstrous.

Furthermoze, where the person is woꝛthyful, his gouernance, though it be sharpe, is to the people moze tollerable, and they therewith the lesse grutchy oz be disobedient.

Also suche men hauing substance in goodes des by certayn and stable possessions, whyche they

they maye appoyzionate to their own liuinge
and bringynge vp of their chylde in lea-
nyng and vertues, may (if nature repugne
not) cause them to be so instructed and fur-
nished towarde the administration of a pu-
blike weale, that a poore mans sonne, on-
lye by his naturall wit, without other helpe,
netter oz seldome maye attayne to the lyke.
Towarde the whyche instruction, I haue
prepared this worke.

The education oz forme of bringynge vp
of the childe of a gentylman, whiche
is to haue auctoritee in a publike
weale, Capitulo. iiii.



As much as al noble authors
do conclude, and commune ex-
perience proueth, that where
the gouernors of realmes and
cities be founde, adozned with
vertues, and do employ theyr
study and minde to the publike weale, as wel
to the augmentation therof, as to the establi-
shynge and longe continuance of the same,
there a publike weale muste nedes be bothe
honorable and welthy. To the intente to de-
clare, howe suche personages maye be prepa-
red, I will vse the policy of a wyse and cun- Educatio
nyng gardener, who purposynge to haue in of noble
his gardeyn a fine and pretious herbe, that wyttes,
B.v. Shoulde

The Gouernour

Shoulde be to hym and all other, repaypunge
thereto, excellently commodious, or pleasant:
he wyl firste serche throughout hys garden,
where he can fynde the mooste melow and fer
tile erthe, and therein wyl he put the seede of
the herbe to grow, and be nourished, and in
mooste diligent wyse attend, that no weede bee
suffred to growe or approche nigh vnto it:
and to the ende it maye thriue the faster, as
soone as the forme of an herbe ones appea
reth, he wil set a vessel of water by it, in such
wyse, that it may continually destille on the
roote sweete dropes, and as it spryngeth in
stalke, vnder set it with some thyng, that it
break not, and alwaye kepe it cleane from
weddes. Like order wyl I ensue, in the for
myng the gentill wittes of noble mens chil
dren, who frome the wombes of theyr mo
ther, shalbe made propise or apte to the gouer
nance of a publike weale.

Notices
howe they
ought to
be chosen

First they, vnto whom the bringing vp
of suche children apperteyneth, ought a
gainst the time that their mother shall be
of theim deliuered, to be sure of a nurse,
whiche shuld be of no seruile condicion, or
vice notable. For as some aunient writers
do suppose, oftentimes the chylde sucketh
the vice of hys nouryse, with the mylke of
her happe. And also obserue, that she be of
mature or ripe age, not vnder .xx. yeres, or
aboue .xxx. her body also beyng cleane from al
lykenesse or deformitee, and hauing her com
ple

plection moſte of the right & pure ſanguine.
Forasmuch as the milke therof cominge, ex-
celleth al other, both in ſweetenes & ſubſtāce.

¶ Whoeouer, to the noueiſe ſhoulde be ap-
pointed an other woman, of approued ver-
tue, diſcretion, and grauitie, who ſhall not his or dze
ſuffre in the chyldes preſence to be ſhewed nouriſe.
Anye actor tatche diſhoneſt, or anye wanton
or vncleane word to be ſpoke. And for that
cauſe all men, excepte phiſicians onely ſhuld
be excluded and kept out of the nurſery.

¶ Perchance ſome wyl ſcozne me, for that
I am ſo ſerious, ſaiynge, that there is no
ſuche damage to be ſered in an infant, who
for tenderneſſe of yeares, hath not the vnder-
ſtandynge, to decerne good from euill. And
yet no man wyl denye, but in that innocen-
ce, he wyl deſerne mylke from butter, and
bzeade frome pappe, and er he can ſpeake,
he wyl with his hande or countenaunce,
ſignifye, whyche he deſpyrethe. And I ve-
ryllye ſuppoſe, that in the bzaines and hartes
of yonge chyldzen, whyche be membzres ſpi-
rituall, whyles they be tender, and the littel
clippes of reaſon begin in them to burgeine,
there maye happen by euill cuſtome, ſome pes-
tyferous dewe of vyce to perle the ſayde
membzres, and infecte and corrupte the ſofte
and tender buddeſ, wherby the fruite maye
growe wylde, and ſome tyme conteyne in it
feruent and mortall poiſon, to the vtter des-
truction of a realme.

¶ And

Infancy. And we haue in dayly experience, that li^l tell infantes assaye to folowe, not only the wordes, but also the faictes and gesture of them, that be prouert in yeres. For we dayly here, to our great heuynes, children sweare great othes, and speke lasciuious and vnclene wordes, by the example of other, whom they here: wherent the leude parentes do reioyce, soone after, or in this worlde, or els where, to their great paines torment. Lōtras tympse, we beholde some children, knelynge in their game befoze images, and holdynge by their littell whyle handes, moue theyr pretye mouthes, as they were prayng: other goyng and synging, as it were in procession, wherby they do expresse their disposition, to the imitation of those thynges, be they good or puel, whych they vsually se or here. Wherfore not only princis, but also all other children, from their nources pappes, are to be kept diligently from the herpyng or sepyng of any vice or puel tache. And incontinent, as soone as they can speake, it behoueth with mooste pleasant allurynge, to instill in them swete maners and vertuous custome.

Also to prouide for them suche companions and playe felowes, as shall not do in their presence anye reprocheable acte, or speake anye vnclene word or othe, ne to aduaint them with flatterye, remembryng their nobyltee, or anye other lyke thyng, wherin they mought glorie: onlesse it be to per-

perswade them to vertue, or to wythdrawe them from vice, in the remembryng to them the danger of their puel example. For noble men moze greuously offende by their example, than by their deede, yet often remembreunce to them of their astate, maye happen to radicate in their herres intollerable pride, the moste dangerous popson to noblenes. Wherfore there is required to be there in muche cautele and sobrenes.

C The ordze of lernynge, that a noble man shoulde be trained in, befoze he come to thage of seven yeres. Cap. v.



Some olde autours holde opinion, that befoze the age of seven yeres, a childe shoulde not bee instructed in letters, but those wyters were either grekes or latins: amonge whom all doctrine and sciences were in their maternal tonges, by reason wherof they saved al that longe time, whych at this daye is spente in vnderstandynge perfectlye the greke or latyne. Wherfore it requireth now a longer time to the vnderstandynge of bothe. Therfore that infelicitie of our tyme and countrey compelleth vs to encroche somewhat vpon the yeres of children, and specially of noble men, that they maye soner attayn to wysedome and grauitee, than
p112

The Governour.

private persones: consyderynge, as I haue
sayd, they charge and exāple, whiche aboue
all thinges is most to be esteemed. Notwith-
standing I wold not haue them inforced by
violence to lerne, but accordyng to the coun-
sell of Quintiliā to be sweetely allured ther-
to, with prayses, and suche praty gyftes as
childzen delpte in. And their fyrst letters to
be painted or lymined in pleasaunte maner:
wherin chyliden of gentyll courage haue
much delectacion. And also there is no bet-
ter alectiue to noble wittes, than to endure
them into a contencion with their inferiour
companvons: they sometyme purposely suf-
fring the more noble childzen to vanquish,
and as it were gyvinge to them place and
souerayntyte, though in deede the inferiour
childzen haue more lernynge. But there can
be nothynge more conuenient, than by lpttel
and lpttell to trayne and exercise theym in
spekyng of latin: insoutmyng the to know
fyrste the names in latin of all thinges that
come in syghte, and to name all the parties
of their bodie: and giuinge them some what
that they couete or desire in molte gentyl ma-
ner, to teache theym to aske it agayne in las-
tin. And yf by this meanes they maye be in-
duced to vnderstande and to speake latin, it
shall afterwarde be lesse greue to them in a
maner, to learne any thyng, where they vnder-
stand the language, wherein it is wrytten.
And as touchyng grammer, there is at this
daye

dape better introductions, and more facile than euer befoze were made, concerning as wel bothe greke as latine.

¶ And it is no reproche to a noble man, to instructe his owne childzen, or at the leaste wayes, to examine them by the waye of diliance or solace, consyderynge that the emperour Octavius Augustus, disdayned not to rede the warkes of Cicero and Vergile, to his childzen and newwes. And why shuld not noblemen rather so do, than teache their childzen how at dice and cardes they maye cunnynge lere and consume their owne treasure and substance?

Instructi
on in in-
fancy.

¶ Moreover, techynge representeth the auctoritee of a prince. wherfore Dionysie, kinge of Sicile, whan he was for tyranny expelled, by his people, he cam into Italy, and there, in a commune schoole, taughte grammer, wherwith whan he was of his enemies embayded, and called a schoole master, he answered them. That although Siciliens had exiled hym, yet in despite of them all he reigned: nothinge therby the auctoritee that he had over his scholers. Also whan it was of hym demanded, what availed hym Plato, or philosophy, wher in he had ben studious, he answered, That they caused hym to suffer aduersitee patiently, and made his exile to be to hym more facile and easie, whyche courage & wisdom considered of his people they esloner restored hym vnto his realme,
and

The Governour.

and estate royall, where if he had procured agaynst them hostilities or warres, or had returned into Sicile with any violence, I suppose the people wolde alwaye haue resisted and kept hym in perpetual exyle: as the Romans dyd the proude kynge Tarquine, whose sonne rauished Lucrece. But to retourne to my purpose.

If It shal be expedient, that a noble mans sonne, in his infancy, haue with hym continually, onelye suche, as maye accustome hym by littel and lyttel, to speake pure and elegant latin. Semblably the nourises and other women about hym, if it be possible, to do the same: or at the least waye, that they speke none english, but that whyche is cleane, polite, perfectly, and articulately pronounced, omittynge no letter or syllable, as folithe women oftentimes doe of a wantonnesse, wherby diuers noble men, and gentilmens children (as I do at this daye know) haue attained corrupt and foule pronounciacion.

This industry vled in foymyng litle infants, who shall doubt, but that they (not lase kynge naturall wpt) shall be apte to receiue lernyng, whan they come to mo yeres. And in this wyse may they be instructed, without anye violence or inforcyng: vsynge the more parte of the tyme, vntyll they come to the age of vii. yeres, in suche dispozties as do apper teyne to children, wherin is no resemblance or similitude of vice.

At what age a tutour shoulde be prouided, and what apperteineth to his office to dooe. Cap. vi.



After a chylde is come to seuen yeres of age, I holde it expediente, that he be taken frome the company of women: sayng that he maye haue one yere or two at the moste, an aunciente and sadde matrone, attendynge on hym in hys chambze, whiche shall not haue anye yonge woman in hir companye: For though there bee no peryll of offence in that tendze and innocent age, yet in some chylderne nature is moze prone to vice than to vertue, and in the tender wittes be sparkes of voluptuositie: which noised by any occasion or objecte, encrease oftentimes into so terrible a fire, that therewithall vertue and reason is consumed. Wherfore to elchue that danger the moste sure counsaile is, to withdrawe hym from al company of women, and to assigne vnto hym a tutor, whiche shoulde be an auncient and worthy man, in whome is approued to be muche gentylnesse mixt with grauitee, and as nyghe as can be suche one, as the chylde, by unytacion folowynge, maye grow to be excellent. And yf he be also learned, he is the moze commendable.

Peleus the father of Achilles, committed
L. i. the

Gouernour.

phenix
Achil. tutor
Alexander
the great,
Epami-
nondas tu-
tor to
kinge
Philip

Leonidas
tutor
to kinge
Alexander.

Office of
tutor

the gouernance of his son to Phenix, whiche was a straunger borne, who as well in speakeyng elegantly, as in doyng valiantlye, was maister to Achilles, as Homere saith.

¶ How much he profited it to kyng Philip, father to the greake Alexander, that he was deliuered in hostage to the Thebans, where he was kepte and brought vp vnder the gouernance of Epaminondas, a noble and ballant capitaine, of whome he receiued suche leeryng, as wel in actes martiall, as in other liberall sciences, that he excelled all other kynges, that were before his tyme of Grece: and finallye as wel by wysdom as prowes, subdued all that countrey.

¶ Semblably he ordeyned for his sonne Alexander a noble tutor called Leonidas, vnto whom for his wysdom, humanitee, and leeryng, he committed the rule and preeminence ouer all the maisters and seruantes of Alexander. In whome not withstandyng was suche a familiar vice, whiche Alexander apprehendyng in childehode, coulde neuer abandon, som suppose it to be surfe and hastines, other superfluous drynking of wyne, whiche of them it were, it is a good warning for gentlemen, to be the more serious, in leeryng not only for the vertues, but also for the vices of them, vnto whose tuition and gouernance they wyl committe their children.

¶ The office of a tutor is fyrst to know the nature of his pupil, that is to saye, where to be

to he is moſte inclined oz diſpoſed, and in what thyng he ſetteth his moſte delectacion oz appetite, If he be of nature curteis, piteous, and of a free and liberall herte, it is a principall token of grace (as it is by all ſcripture determined) Then ſhall a wyſe tutor, purpoſely commend thoſe vertues, extollying alſo his pupill, for hauyng of them: and therewith he ſhall declare theſe to be of all men moſte fortunate, whiche ſhall happen to haue ſuche a maſter. And mozeouer ſhall declare to hym, what honour, what love, what commodities ſhall happen to him by theſe vertues. And if any haue ben of diſpoſicion contrarye, than to expreſſe the enormities of their vice, with as much deteſtation as may be: And yf anye danger haue therby enſued, miſfortune oz puniſhmente, to agreee it in ſuche wyſe, with ſo vehement wordes, as the child maye abhorre it, and feare the lyke aduenture.

In what wiſe muſike maye be to a noble man neceſſary: and what modeſtie ought to be therein. Cap. vii.



The diſcrecyon of a tutor conſiſteth in temperance: that is to ſaye, that he ſuffre not the childe to be fatigate with continual ſtudy oz learning, when with the delicate and tendre wyte maye be dulled oz oppreſſed: but that

Gouernour.

there may be therewith enterlaced and myxt
some pleasaunte learning and exercise, as
playing on instrumentes of musike, whiche
moderately vsed, and without diminution of
honour, that is to say, without wanton cos-
tenance, and dissolute gesture, is not to bee
contemned. For the noble kyng and prophes
Dauid, kyng of Israel (whome almyghtye
god sayd, he had chosen as a man accor-
dyng to his hert or desyre) durynge his lyfe, delited
in musike: And with the swete armony, that
he made on his harpe, he cōstreigned the euil
spirite, that vexed kyng Dauid, to forsake
hym, continuynge the tyme that he harped.

¶ The most noble and valiaunt princis of
Grece, oftentimes, to recreate their spirites
and in augmentynge their courage, embraced
instrumentes musycall.

Achilles.
Homer?
Iliad, p. 21

¶ Thus did the valiant Achilles (homere
saith) who after the sharpe and vehement
contention, betwene him and Agamemnon
for the takynge away of his concubine: where-
by he being set in a fury, had slayn Agamem-
non, emperour of the grekes army, had not
Pallas the goddessse withdrawen his hande.
In whiche rage he all inflamed, departed
with his people to his owne shyppe, that lay
at rode, intendynge to haue returned into his
countrey: but after he had taken to hym his
harpe (wheron he had lerned to play of Chi-
ron the Centaure, whiche also taught hym
seates of armes, with physike and surgerie)
and

Chiron.

and playnge thereon, had longen the gestes and actes martiall of the ancient princis of Greece, as Hercules, Perseus, Perithous, Theseus, and his colyn Jason, & of diuers other of semblable value and prowesse: he was therewith assuaged of his furpe, and reduced into his fyrst estate of reson: in suche wyse, that in redoubpyng his rage, and that therby shuld not remaine to him any note of reproche, he retepyng his fierce and sturde countenance, so tempted him selfe, in the intertainment and answering the messengers that came to him fro the residue of the Grekes, that they reputyng al that his fiers demeanour to be (as it were) a diuine maiestee, neuer embzayded hym with anye inordinate wrath or furp.

¶ And therfoze the great kyng Alexander, alexanders whan he had vāquished Ilion, where somes musyke, tyme was set the most noble citee of Trope beyng demaunded of one, if he wold se the harpe of Paris Alexander, who rauished Helene, he threat gently smplyng, answered. It was not the thyng that he muche desired, but had rather se the harpe of Achilles, wherto he lange, not the illecebrous dilectations of Venus, but the valpant actes and noble affaires of excellent princis.

¶ But in this commendacion of musike, I wold not be thought to allure noble men, to haue so much delectaciō therein, that in playeng and syngyng onely, they shuld put their

Musike
reprova-
ble.

Theatre.

hole study and felicitie: As dyd thenperours
Nero, whiche all a longe somers daye wold
lyt in the Theatre (an open place where all
the people of Rome behelde sollemne actes
and playes) and in the presence of al the no-
ble men and senatours, would playe on his
harpe, and sing without cessyng. And if anye
man hapned by long setting to sleepe, or by
any other countenance, to shewe hym selfe
to be weyry, he was sodenly bobbed on the
face by the seruantes of Nero, for that pur-
pose attendyng. Or yf any person were per-
ceyued to be absent, or were sene to laughe at
the folye of the emperour, he was forthwith
accused, as if he were of mispryson, wherby the
emperour founde occasion to commit hym
to priso, or to put hym to toxtures. ¶ What
miserie was it, to be subiecte to suche a myn-
strall, in whose musike was no melodye but
anguysh and dolour?

Musike
miserable

¶ It were therfore better, that no musyke
were taught to a noble man, than by the ex-
acte knowlage therof, he shoulde haue therein
inordinate delyte: and by that be illected to
wantonnesse, abandonyng graunce and the
necessary cures office in the publike weale
to hym committed.

King
Philip
wordes
to Alexan-
der.

¶ King Philip, when he heard that his
sonne Alexander dyd syng sweetely and pro-
perly, rebuked hym gently, saying. But As
Alexande, be ye not ashamed, that ye can syng
so wol and cunningly: wherby he ment, that
the

the open profession of that craft was but of a base estimation. And that it suffiseth a noble man. hauyng therein knowledge, either to vse it secretly, for the refreshynge of his wpt, whan he hath the tyme of solace: or els openly herynge the contention of noble musicians, to geue iudgement in the excellency of their cunnynge. These be the causes, wherunto hauyng regarde, musike is not only tollerabile, but also commendable. For as Aristotle saith: Musike in the olde tyme was numbred among sciences, forasmuche as nature seeketh not onely, how to be in busynesse well occupied, but also howe in quietnesse to bee cominendably disposed.

And if the chyld be of a perfecte inclination and towardnes to vertue, and verpe apt: Musike ly disposed to this science, and ryppelye dothe profitable vnderstande the reason and concordance of tunes, the tutozs office shall be, to perswade hym, to haue principallie in remembraunce his astate, whiche maketh hym exempt frome the libertee of vsynge this science in euerye time and place, that is to say, that it only serueth for recreation, after tedious or laborious affaires. And to shew him, that a gentylman playinge or syngyng in a common audience, appapreth his estimation: The people forgettynge reuerence, whan they beholde hym in similitude of a common seruaunt or mynstrel, yet notwithstanding, he shall commend the perfect vnderstanding of musike.

GOUERNOUR.

Declaryng howe necessary it is for the better attaynyng to the knowlage of a publyke weale, whiche as I befoze sayde, is made of an ordze of astates & degrees, and by reason therof conteyneth in it a perfecte harmonye: whiche he shall afterwarde. moze perfectely vnderstande, whan he shall happen to rede the booke of Plato and Aristotle of publyke weales, wherin be wyitten diuers examples of musike and geometry. In this fozme may a wyse and circumspecte tutoure adapte the plesant science of musike to a necessarye and laudable purpose.

That it is comendable in a gentilian to paynt and herue exactly, if nature thers to dooeth induc hym. Cap. viii.

If the chyld be of nature inclined (as many haue ben) to peynt with a penne or to fowme ymages in stone or tree: he shulde not be there fro to drawe, or nature be rebuked, whiche is to hym beneuolent: but puttyng one to him, whiche is in that craft, wherin he deliteth, most excellent, in vacant tymes from other moze serious learning, he shulde be in the moste pure wise instructed in painting or heruing. And now perchance som enuious reder wyl here of take occasion to scozne me, sayinge that I had

hadde wel hyed me, to make of a noble man,
a mason or printer. And yet if either ambi-
tion or voluptuous ydelnesse wold haue suf-
fered that reader to haue sene hystories, he
shulde haue founden excellent princes, as wel
in paintynge as in keruyng, equall to noble
artificers: Suche were Claudius Titus,
the son of Maspasian Hadrian, bothe Anto-
nines, & diuers other emperours and noble
princes, whose warkes of longe tyme remai-
ned in Rome and other citées, in suche plas-
ces, where all men mought beholde them: as
monumentes of their excellent wittes & ver-
tuous occupacion, in eschuyng of ydelnesse.

¶ And not without a necessary cause prin-
cis were in their childhode so instructed: for
it serued them afterwarde for deuysynge of
ingins for the warre: or for the makynge them
better, that be all redy deuised. For as Mi-
triuinus (whiche writeth of buyldynge to the
emperour Augustus) saith: All tormentes of
warre, whiche we call ingyns, were firste in-
uented by kynges or gouernours of hostes:
or yf they were deuised by other, they were
by them made muche better.

¶ Also by the feate of portraiture or pain-
tynge, a capitayne maye descriue the countrey
or his aduersary, wherby he shall eschue the
dangerous passages with his hoste or na-
turye: also perceyue the places of aduantage,
the forme of embattaylynge of his enemies,
the situation of his campe, for his most sure

Gouernour.

ice, the strength or weakenesse of the towne or fortreffe, whiche he intendeth to assaulte. And that whiche is most specially to be considered, in visitynge his owne dominions, he shall sette them out in figure, in suche wyse, that at his eye shall appere to hym, where he shall employ his study and treasure, as well for the sauegard of his countrey, as for the comoditee and honour therof, hauynge at all tymes in his syght the suertee and seblence, auancement & hynderance of the same. And what pleasure and also utilitee is to a man, whiche intendeth to edifye hym selfe to expresse the figure of the warke, that he purposeth, according as he hath conceiued it in his owne fantasie, wherin by often amendynge & correcting, he finally shall so perfectly warke vnto his purpose, that ther shall neither ensue anye repentance, nor in the employmente of his money, he shall be by other deceiued.

¶ Moreover the feate of portraiture shall be an allectiue to euery other studye or exercise. For the wit thereto disposed, shall alway couete congruent matter, wherin it maye bee occupied. And whan he hapneth to rede or here anye fable or history, forthwith he apprehendeth it more desirously, and retetneth it better than anye other, that lacketh the sayde feate: by reason that he hath the founde matter apt to his fantasie. Finallye euery thinge that portraiture maye comprehend, wyl be to hym delectable to rede or here. And where the liue
ly

by spynne, and that whiche is called the grate
of the thing, is perfectly expressed, that thinge
moze perswadeth & stereth the beholder, & so-
ner instructeth hym, than the declaracion in
wrytyng or spekyng, doth the reader or hearer.
Experiēce we haue therof in lernyng of geo-
metry, astronomy, & cosmography, called in
englyshe the description of the worlde. In
whiche studies, I dare affirme, a man shall
moze profit in one weke by figures and car-
tes well and perfectly made, than he shall by
the onely redyng or hear yng the rules of that
science, by the space of halfe a yere at the lest.
Wherfore the late wrytters deserue no small
commendacion, whiche added to the autoꝝ
of those sciences apte and pꝛopie figures.

¶ And he that is perfectly instructed in por-
traiture, and hapneth to rede any noble & ex-
cellent hystoꝝ, wherby his courage is infla-
med to the imitation of vertue, he forthwith
taketh his pen or pencil, & with a graue and
substanciall study, gather yng to hym all the
parties of imagination, endeuoreth him selfe
to expresse lyuelye, and (as I mought saye)
actuallye in portraiture, not onely the faute
or affaire, but also the sundꝛye affections of
euery personage in the hystoꝝ recited, which
mought in anye wyse appere or be perceyued
in their visage, countenance, or gesture: with
lyke diligence, as Apollippus made in metall
lyng Alexander, fighyng & struggling with
a terrible lyon of incomparable magnitude,
and

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and fiercenesse: whom, after longe and difficult battaile, with wonderfull strengthe and cleane myght, at the laste he ouerthrew and vanquished. Wherin he so exprest the multitude of Alexander, and of his lordes stādyng about him, that they all seemed to lyue. Among whom the prowes of Alexander appeared excellēge all other, the residue of his lordes after the value & estimation of thepp courage, every man set out in such forwardnes, as they than seemed moze prompt to the helyng of thepp maister, that is to saye, one lasse afterde than an other.

Pheidias. Pheidias the Atheniense, whom all wyrters doe commende, made of puorpe, the simulachre or image of Jupiter, honoured by the gentyles, on the hyghe hylle of Olympus: which was done so excellentlye, that Pandenus, a counnyng paynter therat admeruayling, required the crafter man, to shew hym where he had the example or paterne of so noble a worke. Than Pheidias answered, that he had taken it oute of thze verses of Homere the poete: the sentence wherof ensueth, as wel as my pooze witte can expresse it in englyshe.

Than Jupiter, the father of them all,
Therto assented with his browes blacke,
Shakynge his heare, & therewith byd let fall
A countenance, that made al heuen to quake.
¶ Where it is to be noted, that Thetis the mother of Achilles, desired Jupiter to incline his

his fauour to the parte of the Croians.

¶ Nowe (as I haue before sayde) I intend not by these examples, to make of a prynce or noble mannes sonne a commune paynter or heruer, which shal present him selfe openly, stayned or embayued with sondry colours, or poudered with the duste of stones, that he cutteth, or perfumed with stinking sauiours of the metalles by hym yoten. But verayly myne intente and meanyng is onelye, that a noble childe, by his owne naturall disposition, and not by coercion, maye bee induced to receyue perfecte instruction in these sciences.

¶ What exacte diligence shulde be in chosynge maisters. Capitulo. ix.

After that the chylde hath been pleasantly trayned & induced to knowe the partes of speeche, and can separate one of them from another, in his owne language, It shall than be tyme, that his tutour or gouernoure doo make diligent searche for suche a master: as is excellentlye learned bothe in Grecke and latyne, and there withall is of sobre and virtuous disposition, specialllye chaste of lyuynge, and of muche affabilitie and patience: leaste by any vncleane example the tender mynde of the chylde maye bee infected, harde afterwarde to be recovered. For the
natures

Gouernour.

natures of childzen be not so muche of some aduanced by thynges wel done or spoken, as they be hyndered and corrupted by that, whiche in actes or wordes is wantonlye expressed. Also by a cruell and vyous maister, the wittes of childze be dulled: that thinge, for the which childzen be oftentimes beaten, is to them euer after fastidious, wherof wee nede no better auctor for witnes, than dayly experience. Wherfore the moste necessarye thinges to be obserued by a master in his disciples or scholars (as Licon the noble grammarian sayd) is shamesfastnes and praise. By shamesfastnes, as it were with a byddell, they rule as well theyr dedes, as theyr appetites. And desyre of praise addeth a sharpe spurre to theyr disposicion, towarde learynge and vertue. Accor dyng ther vnto Quintilian instructyng an oratour, despyeth suche a childe to be geuen vnto hym, whom commendacion feruently styreth, glory prouoketh, and beyng vauquyshed wepeth. That childe (saythe, he) is to be fedde with ambition, hym a lytle chydnyng sore byteth, in hym no part of clowthe is to be feared.

¶ And yf nature disposeth not the chyldes witte to receyue learynge, but rather other wyle: it is to be applied with more diligence & also policie, as thosynge some boke, wherof the argument or matter approcheth moste nygh to the chyldes inclination or fantasy, so that it be not extremely vicious, and therewith

with by lyttell and lyttell, as it were with a pleasaunte sauce, prouoke hym to haue good appetite to studie. And surely that childe, what so euer he bee, is well blessed and fortunate, that fyndeth a good instructoure or mayster, Whiche was considered by noble kynge Philip, father to the greatte kynge Alexander, who immediatlye after his sonne was borne, wrote a letter to Aristotle, the prince of philosophers, the tenoure whereof ensueth.

¶ Aristotle, we grette you well. Lettynge you wytte, that we haue a sonne borne, for the whiche we geue due thanks vnto God, not for that he is borne onelye, but also for as muche as it happeneth hym to be borne, you luyng. Trustynge that it shall happen, that he by you taught and instructed, shall hereafter woorthy to be named oure sonne, and to enioye the honoure and substance that we now haue prouided.

Thus fare ye wel.

¶ The same Alexander was wont to saye openly, that he ought to geue as greate thanks to Aristotle his master, as to kyng Philip his father: for of hym he toke the occasion to lyue, of the other he receyued the reason and waye to liue well. And what maner a prince Alexander was made by the doctrine of Aristotle, it shall appere in diuers places of this booke: where his example to princes shal be declared,

The epistle of
king Philip to
Aristotle.

The

Governour.

The incomparable benefite of maisters haue ben wel remembred of dyuers princis. In so much as Marcus Antoninus, whiche among the emperours was commended for his vertue and sapience, hadde his master Proculus (who taughte hym grammer) so muche in fauour, that he aduanced hym to be proconsull, whiche was one of the highest dignities among the Romayns.

Alexander the emperour caused his master Julius Fronto, to be Consull, whiche was the highest office, and in a state next the emperour: and also obtained of the Senate, that the statute or image of Fronton was sette vp among the noble princis.

What caused Traiane to be so good a prince (in so muche that of late dayes, when an Emperour receiued hys crowne at Rome the people with a commune crye desyred of God, that he mought be as good as was Traiane) but that he hapned to haue Plutarche, the noble phylosopher, to be his instructour?

I agree me, that some be good of naturall inclination to goodnes, but where good instruction and example is therto ad-

ded, the naturall goodnes must

therewith nedes be amen-

ded, and be more,

excellent.

What

¶ What ordre should bee in learning,
and whiche auctours shoulde be
first redde. Capit. x.



¶ We let vs retourne to the
order of learning, apt for a
gētilmā. Wherin I am of
Quintiliā's opiniō, that I
wold haue him lerne greke
and latine auctours, both at
one time, or els to begin w
greke, forasmuche as that is hardest to come
by: by reason of the diuersitie of tungues,
whych he shue in numbze, and all muste bee
known, or els vneth anye poete can be well
vnderstande. And if a chyld do begyn therin
at seuen yeres of age, he maye continuallye
learne greke auctours thze yeres, and in the
meane tyme vse the latin tungue as a famis
liar language: whych in a noble mans son
maye well come to passe, haueyng none other
persons to serue hym or kepe him company,
but suche as can speake latin elegantlye. And
what doubt is there: but so maye he as sone
speke good latin, as he maye do pure french,
whiche now is brought into as many rules
and figures, and as longe a grammar, as is
latine or greke. I wyll not contende, who
amonge them, that doo write grammars of
greke (whych nowe all moste bee innumera
ble) is the best: but that I referre to the dis
cretion of a wyle maister. Alwaye I wolde
advise

The first
lerning i
childhode

aduaife hym, not to deteine the chylde to longe
in that tedious labors, eyther in the grecke
or latin grammer. For a gentill wit is ther
with soone fatigate.

A Grammer, beyng but an introduction to
the vnderstandyng of auctours, if it be made
to log or exquisite to the lerner it in a maner
mortifieth his courage: And by that tyme he
cometh to the mooste swete & pleasant redyng
of olde auctours, the sparkes of feruent de-
syre of lernyng is extinct, with the burdeyne
of gramer, like as a litle fire is soone quēched
with a great heape of smal stiches: so that it
can neuer come to the pyncepal logges, wher
it shulde long burne in a great pleasant fire.

Nowe to folowe my purpose. After a
fewe and quicke rulers of grammer, immedi-
ately, or interlacing it therewith, wold be red
to the childe **E**scopes fables in greke: in whiche
the argument chyldezen muche delite. And sur-
ely it is a muche pleasaunt lesson, and also
profitable, as well for that it is elegante and
bryfe (and not withstandyng it hath muche
varietee in wordes, and therewith muche hel-
peth to the vnderstandyng of greke) as also
in those fables is included much mozell and
politike wysedome. Wherfore in the terking
of them, the maister diligently must gather
together those fables, whiche maye bee mooste
accommodate to the aduancement of some
vertue, wherto he perceiueth the chylde incli-
ned: or to the rebuke of some vice, wherto
he

Escopes
fables:

he fyndeth his nature disposed. And therein the master ought to exercise his wit, as well to make the chylde playnely to vnderstande the fable, as also declaringe the significacion therof correndiously, and to the purpose.

For sene alway, that as well this lesson as all other auctours, whiche the childe shall lerne, either greke or latin, verse or prose, be perfectly had without the booke: wherby he shall not onely attayne plentye of the tungues called Copie, but also increase and noy the remembzance wonderfully.

The next lesson wold be some quicke and mery dialogues, electe out of Lucian, which be without ribaudy, or to muche scoznyng: for either of them is exactely to be eschued: specially for a noble man, the one anoyenge the soule, the other his estimation, concerning his grautie.

The.ii.
lest to chylde
of Lucian
anus.

The comedies of Aristophanes may be in the place of Lucian, and by reason they be in metre, they be the soner learned by harte. I dare make none other comparison betwene them, for offending the frends of them both: but thus muche dare I saye, that it were better, that a childe shoulde neuer rede anye part of Lucian, than all Luciane.

I could rehearse diuers other poetis, whiche for mater and eloquence, be very necessary, but I feare me to be to longe from noble Homere: from whome as from a fountayn, procedeth al eloquence & lernyng. For in his

Homere?

Gouernour.

bookes be conteyned, and moſte perfectly expreſſed, not onely the documentes marſhall and diſcipline of armes, but alſo incomparable wiſedome and inſtructions for politike gouernance of people, with the worthy commendation and laude of noble princis, wherewith the readers ſhal be ſo all inflamed, that they moſte frequently ſhall deſyre and conete, by the imitation of their vertues to acquire ſemblable glory. For the whiche occaſion Ariſtotle, moſte ſharpeſt witted, and excellent lerned philoſopher, as ſonne as he had receiued Alexander from king Philip his father, before any other thing, taught hym the moſte noble workes of Homere. Wherin Alexander founde ſuche ſweeteneſſe and fruite, that euer after he had Homer, not only with hym in all his iourneys, but alſo layd hym vnder his pillow, whan he went to reſt: and oftentimes wolde purpoſely wake ſome houres of the nyght, to take as it were his paſtyme with that moſt noble poete. For by the reacyng of his worke called Iliados, where the aſſembly of the moſte noble grekes agaynſt Troie is recited, with their affayres, he gathered courage and ſtrength agaynſt his enemies, wiſedome and eloquente for conſultations and perſuaſions to his people & army. And by the other worke called Odiffea whiche recounteth the ſundry adventures of the wiſe Odiffeus, he by the example of Odiffeus, apprehended many noble vertues, and alſo

also learned to escape the fraude and deceitful imaginaciōs of sundry and subtil craftye wittes. Also there shal he learne to inserche and perceyue the maners and condicions of them that be his familiars, sifting out (as I mought say) the best from the worst, wherby he maye surely committe his affaires: truste to euery person after his vertues. Therefore I now conclude, that there is no lesson for a yonge gentilman to be cōpared with Homere, if he be plainely and substantially expounded and declared by the mayster.

¶ Not withstandynge, for as muche as the sayde warke be very longe, and do require therfore a greate tyme to be all learned and hanned: some latine auctour woulde be therewith mixte, and speciallly Virgile: whiche in his warke called Eneidos, is mooste lyke to Homere, and almoste the same Homere in latin. Also by the ioynyng together of, those auctours, the one shall be the better vnderstande by the other. And verilye (as I before sayde) no one auctoure serueth to so dyuers wittes, as doth Virgil. For there is not that affect or desyre, wherto any chyldes fantasie is disposed, but in some of Virgils warkes maye be founden matter therto apt and profitable. For what thyng can be moze familiar than his butolikes? nor no warke so nyghe approacheth to the comon dalliance and maners of children, and the pety controuersies of the symple shepardes therein conteyned,

virgilius.

wonderfully reioyseth the chylde that hereth
it well declared, as I knowe by myne owne
experience. In his Georgikes, lord what plea-
saunte varietye there is, the dyuers graynes,
herbes, and flowres, that be there described,
that redyng therin, it seemeth to a man to be
in a delectable gardeyne or paradyse. What
ploughe man knoweth so muche of husban-
drye, as there is expessed: who delityng in
good horses, shall not be therto more enfla-
med, redyng there, of the bredyng, chesynge,
and keepynge of them: In the declaracyon
wherof Virgile leaueth farre behynde hym
all breeders, hackney men, and scorsers. Is
there anye astronomer, that more exactly let-
teth oute the order and course of the celestie
all bodyes: or that more truely dooeth dis-
tine in his pronostications of the times of
the yere, in their qualities, with the future
estate of all thynges provided by husban-
drye, than Virgile dooth tryte in that
wache?

If the chylde haue a delyte in huntynge,
what pleasure shall he take of the fable of
Aristeus: semblably in the hunting of Dido
and Eneas, whiche is descriued mooste eleg-
antly in his booke of Eneidos.


If he haue pleasure in wastling, renning,
or other lyke exercise, where shall he see anye
more pleasant esbatementes, than that whiche
was done by Euealus and other Troy-
ans, whiche accompanied Eneas?


If he take solace in hearyng mynstrelles,
what mynstrel may be compared to Iopas,
whyche sange before Dido and Eneas: or
to blynde Demodocus, that playd and sang
moste sweetely at the dynner, that the kynge
Alcinous made to Ulysses: whose ditties and
melody excelled as farre the songes of oure
minstrelles, as Homere and Vergile excelle
al other poetes.

If he be moze desirous (as the most parte
of children be) to here thynges meruaylous
and exquisite, whiche hathe in it a visage of
some thynges incredible: whereat shall he
moze wonder, than whan he shall beholde
Eneas folow Sibille into hell: what shall be
moze dred, than the terrible visages of Cer-
berus, Torzon, Magera, and other furies
and monsters: how shall he abhorre tyran-
ny, fraude, and avarice, whan he dothe se the
peynes of duke Theleus, Sisyphus, and su-
the other, tormented for their dissolute and
vicious luyng: Howe glad sone after shall
he be, whan he shall beholde in the pleasante
fieldes of Elysium, the soules of noble prin-
cis and capytaynes, whyche for their vertue
and labours, in aduācyng the publike wea-
les of their countreys, doe lyue eternally in
pleasure in explicable: And in the last booke
of Eneidos, shall he fynde matter to minister
to hym audacitee, valiant corage, pollicie, to
take & susteyne noble enterpryses, if anye shall
be nedeful for the assaylyng of his enemies.

Gouernour.

Finally (as I haue sayd) this noble Vergil like to a good nurse, geueth to a childe, if he wil take it, every thing apt for his wytt and capacite. Wherfore he is in the orde of learninge to be preferred before anye other auctour latine.

 I would sette next vnto him. ii. bookes of Ouid, the one called Metamorphosios whiche is as muche to saye, as changing of men into other figure or fourme: the other is intituled De fastis wher the ceremonies of the gentiles, and specially the Romaynes, be expressed, bothe right necessary for the vnderstanding of other poetes. But because there is litle other learning in them, concerninge eyther vertuous maners or policie. I suppose it were better, that as fables and ceremonies happen to come in a lesson, to be declared abundantly by the mayster, than that in the sayd two bookes a long time should be spent, and almost lost, which mought be better employed on such auctours, that do minister both eloquence, ciuile policie, and exhortacion to vertue.

 Wherfore in his place, let vs bring in Horace, in whome is conteyned muche varietee of learning and quickenes of sentence. This poete may be interlared with the lesson of odissea of Homer, wherin is declared the wonderful prudence fortitude of Ulysses, in his passage from Troy. And if the childe were induced to make verses by y imitation
of

of Vergil and Homere, it should minister to him muche delectacion and corage to study: ne the making of verses is not discommeded in a noble man, sens the noble Augustus, and almost al the olde emperours made bookes in verses,

The two noble poetes, Silius and Lu: Silius.
 can be very expedient to be lerned: for the Lucanus
 one setteth ont the emulatio in qualitie and
 prowes of two noble and vallant capitay:
 nes, one enemye to the other, that is to saye.
 Silius writeth of Scipio the Romayn, and
 Annibal duke of Carthaginensis: Lucane
 declareth a seblable matter, but much more
 lamentable: forasmuch as the warres were
 stuite, and as it were in the bowelles of the
 Romayns, that is to saye, vnder the stander
 des of Julius Cesar and Pompey.

Hesiodus in grike, is more brieft than
 Vergil, where he writeth of husbandry, and
 doth not rise so high in philosophye, but is
 fuller of fables. And therfore is more illere
 brous.

And here I conclude, to speake any more
 of poetes necessary for the childhode of a ge
 tleman: forasmuche as these (I doubt not)
 will suffice, vntill he passe the age of. xiii.
 yeres, In whiche tyme childhod declineth,
 and reason waxeth ripe, and apprehendeth
 thynges with a more constant iudgemente.

Here I woulde haue remembred, that I
 requyre not al these warkes to be thoroughly

red of a chylde in this tyme, whiche were al-
moste impossible: But I onely desyre, that
they haue in euery of the sayde booke so mu-
che instruction, that they maye take thereby
some profyte. Than the chylde's courage in-
flamed by the frequent redyng of noble po-
etes daylye more and more desyrith to haue
experience in those thynges, that they so ve-
hementlye doo comende in theym, that they
wryte of.

poetes de-
fended and
praised.

¶ Leonidas, the noble kyng of Spartans,
beyng ones demanded, of what estimation
in poetry Cirtacus (as he supposed) was: it
is wrytten, that he answerynge sayde, That
for sterpyng the myndes of yong men, he was
excellent, for as muche as they beyng moued
with his verses doe runne into the battayle,
regardynge no peril, as men all inflamed in
marciall courage.

¶ And whan a man is comen to ripe yeres
and that reason in hym is confirmed with
serious learnynge and longe experience: than
shal he, in readynge tragedies excrete and
abhorre the intolerable life of tyrantes: And
shal conteneue the folpe and dotage, exprested
by poetes lasciuious.

¶ Here wyl I leaue to speake of the first
parte of a noble mannes studye: And wyl
wryte of the seconde parte, whiche is more
serious, and containeth in it sundry maners
of learnynge.

The

The most commodious and necessary
 studies succedynge ordynately the
 lesson of poetes. Cap. xi.



After xlii. yeares bee passed
 of a chyldes age : his maister,
 if he canne, or some o-
 ther, studiousely exercised
 in the arte of an oratoure,
 shal first reede to hym some
 what of that parte of lo-
 gike, that is called **Topica**, either of **Cicero**
 or els of that noble clerke of **Almayn**, which
 late floured, called **Agricola** : whose worke
 prepareth inuencion, tellinge the places, from
 whens in argumente, for the p[ro]ofe of anye
 matter, maye be taken with little study. And
 that lesson with muche and diligent lernynge
 hauynge mixte therewith none other exercyse,
 wyl in the space of halfe a yere be perfectlye
 hanned.

Logike
Topica,

Immediately after that, the arte of **Rhetorike**
 wolde be seemblably taught, epyther in
 greke out of **Hermogenes**, or of **Quintilian**
 in latin, beginnyng at the thyrde booke, and in
 structyng diligently the chyld in that parte
 of **Rhetorike** principally, whiche concernethe
 persuation : for as muche as it is mooste apte
 for consultation. There can be no shor-
 ter in-
 struction of **rhetorike**, than the treatyse that
Cully wrote vnto his sonne, whiche booke is
 named the partition of **rhetorike**.

And

I And in good fayth, to speake boldly that
I thynke, for hym that nedeth not, or dooeth
not desyre to be an exquisite oratour, that his
tell booke, made by the famous Erasmus
erasmus. (whom all gentle wittes are bounden to thake
and support) whiche he calleth *Copiam ver-
borum et rerum*, that is to saye, Plentie of
wordes and matters, shall be sufficient.

Socrates, concernyng the lesson of ora-
tors, is euery where wonderfull profitable,
haupnge almoste as many wyle sentences as
he hath wordes, and with that is so sweete
and delectable to rede, that after him almoste
all other seme vnswaery and tedious; and in
persuadyng as well a prince as a private per-
son to vertue, the two very lyttell and com-
pendious markes, wherof he made the one
to kynge Nicocles, the other to his frend De-
monicus, woulde be perfectlye kanned and
had in continual memory.

Demosthenes and Culli, by the consent
of all lerned men, haue prehemynence and so-
uerainte ouer all oratores: the one reyninge
in wonderfull eloquence in the publike weale
of the Romayns, who had the empire and
dominion of all the worlde: the other of no
lesse estimation in the citee of Athens, whi-
che of long tyme was accounted the mother
of Sapience, and the palatse of musis and
all liberall sciences. Of whiche two oratores
may be attayned, not onely eloquence excel-
lent and perfect, but also preceptes of wyles
dome

home and gentyll maners, with moste com-
modious examples of all noble vertues and
pollicie. Wherfore the maister in readyng
them, must wel obserue and expresse the pas-
ses and colours of rhetorike in theym con-
teined, according to the preceptes of that art
before lerned. The vtilitee that a noble man
shal haue by readyng these oratours is, that
whan he shal happe to reason in counsaile,
or shal speake in a greatte audience, or to
strange ambassadours of greate princis: he
shal not be cōstreigned to speke wordes so:
deyn and disordred, but shal bestowe them
aply & in their places. Wherfore the moste
noble emperour Octavius is hyghly cōmen- Octavius.
ded, for that he neuer spake in the senate, or
to the people of Rome, but in an oratio pre-
pared and purposely made.

¶ Also to prepare the chylde to vnderstan-
dyng of histories, whiche beyng replenished
with the names of countreies and townes
vniknownen to the reder, doe make the hysto-
rie tedious, or els the lesse pleasant, so if they
be in anye wise knowen, it encrease the in-
explicable delectaciō: It shalbe therfore and
also for refreshyng the witte, a conuenient
lesson, to beholde the old tables of Ptolomee Cosmos
wherin al the world is painted, hauing firste graphie
some introduction into the sphere, whereof the cosmos
nowe of late be made verye good treatises, diththerof
and more playne and easy to lerne than was
wont to bee. All be it there is none so good
leas:

lernyng, as the demonstration of cosmograp^{hy}, by materiall figures and instrumentes, haupng a good instructour. And surely this lesson is bothe pleasaunt and necessary. For what pleasure is it, in one houre to beholde those realmes, citees, seas, ryuers, and foun^{taynes}, that vneth in an olde mans lyfe can not be iournepd? What incredible delite is taken in beholdyng the diuer sitces of people, beastes, foules, fylthes, trees, frutes, and herbes? To knowe the sundry maners and condicion of people, and the varietee of their natures, and that in a warme studie or parloure, without perill of the sea, or danger of longe and peynfull iourneyes? I can not tell, what more pleasure shoulde happen to a gentyll wyttie, than to beholde in his owne house every thyng that within all the worlde is conteyned.

The commoditee therof knewe the greake kynge Alexander, as som wyters do remembre. For he caused the countraies, wherevnto he purposed anye enterpryse, diligently and cunninggly to be described and painted, that beholdyng the picture, he mought perceyue, whiche places were mooste dangerous, and where he and his hoste mought haue mooste easy and conuenable passage.

Semblably dyd the Romayns in the rebellion of Fraunce, and the insurrection of their confederates, settynge vp a table openly, wherein Italy was painted, to the intende
that

that the people lookynge in it, should reason and consulte, in whiche places it were beste to resiste oz inuade their enemies.

I omit for length of the matter to write of Cyrus the great kyng of Persie, Crassus the Romaine, and diuers other valiant and experte capitaynes, whiche haue loste theim selves and al their army by ignorance of this doctrine. Wherfore it maye not bee of any wyse man denyed, but that Cosmographie is to all noble men, not onely pleasante, but profitable also, and wonderful necessary.

In the parte of Cosmographie, wherewith history is myngled, Strabo reigneith, whiche toke his argument of the diuine poetes Homere.

Also Strabo hym selfe (as he saith) laboured a great parte of Affrica and Egypt, where vndoubtedly he manye thynges to bee meruayled at. **Strabo.**

Solinus writeth almoste in lyke fourme and is more bryefe, and hath muche more varietee of thynges and matters, and is therefore meruailous delectable. yet Melis is muche shorter, and his style (by reason that it is of a more antiquitee) is also more clene and facile. Wherfore he, oz Dionysius shall be sufficient. **Solinus**
Melis
Dionysius

Cosmographie beyng substantiallyl perceyued, it is than tyme to induce a chyld to the redynge of histories. But first to set hym in a feruent courage, the waister in the most pleaz

Hystories
and the
fourme i
redyng of
them.

pleasant and elegante wise, expresseinge what
in comparable delectacion, vtilitee, and com
moditee shall happen to emperours, kinges,
p[ri]ncis, and all other gentylmen, by redyng
of hystories: Shewyng to hym, that Demes
trius Phalareus, a man of excellent, wise,
dome and lernyng, and whiche in Athenes,
had ben long exercised in the publike weale,
exhorted P[ho]lomee kyng of Egypt, chiefe
lye aboue all other studies to haunt and em
brace hystories, and such other boke, wher
in were contained p[re]ceptes made to kinges
and p[ri]ncis, sayinge, That in them he shulde
reade those thynges, whiche no man durste
repozte vnto his person.

Also Cicero, father of the latin eloquēce,
calleth an hystory the witnes of tymes, mas
stresse of lyfe, the lyfe of remembraunce, of
truth the light, and messanger of antiquitee,
Moreouer, the sweete Plocrates exhorts
the kyng Nicocles, whom he instructeth
to leaue behynde hym statutes and p[re]mises,
that shall represent rather the figure and li
mitude of his mynde, than the features of
his body, signifying therby the remembrance
of his actes wrytten in hystories.

By semblable aduertisements shal a no
ble herte be trained to delite in hystories.

And than accordyng to the counsel of Quin
tilian, it is best that he begynne with Titus

Citus li
uius.

Liuius, not onelye for his elegancy of wry
tyng, whiche floweth in hym lyke a foun
taine

sayne of swete mylke, but also for as muche as by redyng that auctour, he maye knowe, how the most noble citee of Rome of a smal and pooze beginnyng, by prowes and vertue littel and litel came to the empire and domination of al the worlde.

Also in that citee he may behold the forme of a publike weale, whiche if the insolence and pryde of Tarquine had not excluded him ges oute of the cite, had been the moste noble and perfect of al other.

¶ Xenophon, being both a philosopher, and an excellent capitaine, so inuented and ordred his warke, named *Oecologia*, which maye be interpreted the childhode or disciplyne of *Lysius*, that he leaueth to the reders therof, an incomparable swetenesse and example of luyng, specially for the conducting and wel orderyng of hostes or armies. And therfore the noble Scipion, who was called *Africanus*, as well in peace as in warre, was neuer sene without this booke of Xenophon.

Xenopho.

¶ With him may be ioyned Quintus cur tius, who writeth the lyfe of kynge Alexander, elegantly and swetely. In whome maye be founden the figure of an excellent prince, as he that incomparably excelled all other kinges and emperours in wisdom, hardinesse, strength, polycye, agilitie, valyant courage, nobilytee, lyberalitie, and curtesy. Wherewith he was a spectacle or marke of all princis to looke on, Contrary wyle, whan he was

Quintus
Curcius.

ones banquished with voluptee and pride
his tyrany and beastly crueltie abhorreth al
readers . The comparison of the vertues of
these two noble princis , equally described by
two excellent writers , well exprested, that
prouoke a gentille courage , to contende to
folowe their vertues.

Cesar
Salust.

¶ Julius Cesar and Salust, for their com-
pendious wytyng, to the vnderstandynge
wherof, is required an exact and perfecte in-
genynte, & also for the exquisite order of bat-
taye, and continuynge of the hystorre, with-
out any varietee, wherby the payne of studie
shoulde be alleaiate, they two wolde be refer-
ued, vntyll he that shall rede theym , shall see
some experyence in semblable matters . And
than that he fynd in them suche pleasure and
commoditee, as therewith a noble and genil
herte ought to be satisfied. For in them bothe
it shall seme to a man, that he is present, and
heareth the counsels and exhortacions of ca-
pitaynes, whiche be called Conciones and
that he seeth the order of hostes , whan they
be embattayled, the fierse assaulies and ens-
countreynges of bothe armyes , the furious
rage of that monster called warre . And he
shall wene that he heareth the terrible dences
of sundry weaponz, and ordinaunce of bat-
taye, the conducte and policies of wyse and
expte capitaynes specially in the commen-
taries of Julius Cesar, whiche he made of
his exploitoure in France and Britayne, and
other

other countreys nowe reckened amonge the prouinces of Germany. Which booke is thus diuiously to be redde of the princis of this realme of Englande, and their counsellours, consyderynge that thereof maye be taken necessary instructions concernynge the warres agaynst Iryshe men or Scottes: who be of the same rudenes and wyld disposition, that the Swisses and Byzons were in the tyme of Cesar.

A Semblable utilitie shalbe founden in the hystory of Titus Liuius, in his thyrde Decades, where he writeth of the batailles, that the Romaynes had with Anniball, and the Carthaginenses.

A Also there be diuers oracions, as well in al the bookes of the sayde auctours, as in the hystory of Cornelius Tacitus, which be very delectable, and for counsailes very expedient to be had in memorie.

A And in good faith, I haue often thought that the consultations and oracions written by Tacitus, do import a maiestee, with a copendious eloquence therein contained.

In the lernynge of these auctours, a yonge gentyl man, shal be taught to note & marke, not onely the order and elegancy, in declaration of the hystorye, but also the occasion of the warres, the counsailes and preparations on eyther parte, the estimation of the tapertaynes, the manner and fourme of theyr governance, the continuance of the batayle, the

Gouernour.

fortune & successe of the hole affaires. **S**eminably out of the warres in other daylye affayres, the astate of the publike weale, it yf be prosperous oz in decaye, what is the verpe occasion of the one oz of the other, the forme and maner of the gouernâce therof, the good and puell qualitees of theim that be rulers, the commoditees and good sequele of vertue, the discommodities and puell conclusion of vicious licence.

Surely if a noble man do thus seriously and diligently rede histories, I dare affirme, there is no study oz science for hym of equall comoditee and pleasure, haupnge regarde to euerie tyme and age.

moralphi
losophye.

By the tyme that the childe dothe come to xlii. yeares of age, to the intente his courage be hyddled with reason, it were needefull to rede vnto hym some markes of Philosophy, specially that parte that maye enforme him vnto vertuous maners, whiche parte of philosophy is called moralle. **W**herfore there wolde be redde to hym for an introduction, two the firste bookes of the worke of Aristotle called **E**thice, wherein is conteyned the definitions and propre significacions of euery vertue, and that to be learned in greke, for the translations that we yet haue, bee but a rude and grosse shadow of the eloquente and wisdom of Aristotle.

Cullies
offices.

Foorthwith wolde folowe the worke of Cicero, called in latin **D**e officiis, wherein
to

so yet is no propre english wordes to bee geuen, but to prouide for it some maner of exposition, it maye be sayd in this fourme. Of the dueties and maners aperteynyng to me.

But aboue al other, the warkes of **Plato**. **Plato.** to wolde be most studiously redde, whan the iugement of a man is com to perfection, and by the other studies is instructed in the forme of speakynge that philosophers vled. Forde god, what incomparable sweetenesse of wordes and matter shall he fynd in the sayd warkes of **Plato** and **Cicero**, wherin is ioynd grauitie with delectacion, excellent wisdom with diuine eloquence, absolute vertue with pleasure incredible, and euery place is so insatied with profitable counsaile, ioynd with honestie, that those thre bookes be almost sufficient to make a perfecte and excellent gouernour.

The prouerbes of **Salomō**, with the bookes of **Ecclesiastes** and **Ecclesiasticus**, be veraye good lessons.

Al the historiall parties of the Bible, be ryght necessarie for to bee redde of a noble man, after that he is mature in yeares. And the residue (with the new testamente) is to be reuerently touched, as a celestiall iewelle or relyke, haupng the chief interpreter of those bookes, true and constant faith, and dyedfullie to sette handes thereon, remembryng that **Moses** for puttynge his hand to the holpe syne that was called **Archa federis**, whan it was
E.iii. brought

Gouernour.

brought by kynge Dauid from the cite of Gaba, though it were waueryng and in danger to selle, yet was he styken of god, and fel dead immediately.

C It wolde not be forgotten, that the lyttel booke of the most excellent doctour Erasmus Roree. (whiche he wrote to Charles, nowe being emperor, and then prince of Castile) whiche booke is intituled, the Institution of a chrystien prince, wold be as familiar alwaye with gentlemen, at all tymes and in euery age, as was Homere with the grete kynge Alexander, or Xenophon with Siculo. For as all men may iudge that haue red the work of Erasmus, there was neuer booke written in latine, that in so litel a portion contained of sentence, eloquence, and vertuous exhortation, a moze compendious abundance.

erasmus
on the in-
stitution of
a prince,

And here I make an ende of the lerning and studye, wherby noble men maye attaine to be worthy to haue auctoritee in a publyke weale.

Alwaye I shall exhorde tutors and gouernours of noble chyldren, that they suffre them not, to vse ingurgitatione of meate or drynke, ne to slepe muche, that is to saye, as boue viii. houres at the moste. For vndoubtedly, bothe repletion and superfluous slepe be capital enemies to studye, as they be seemably to helth of body and soule.

Aulus Gellius saythe, that chyldren, yf they vse to eate and slepe ouermuch, be made they

etherwith dull to learne. And we se, that ther
of slownes is taken, and the childrens pers
sonages do waxe uncomlye, and growe lesse
in stature. Galene wyl not permitte, that
pure wyne, without alaye of water shoulde
in any wyse be gyuen to childzen, for as mu
che as it humecteth the bodye, or maketh it
moyster and hotter, than is conuenient: also
it fylleth the head with fume, in them spe
ciallye, whiche be lyke, as children of hotte
and moyste temperature. These be wel nyghe
the wordes of the noble Galene.

¶ Why gentylmen in this present time bee
not equal in doctrine to the auncie
nt noble men, Cap. xii.



Mowe wyl I somewhat de
clare of the thiefe causes,
why in our tyme noble me
be not as excellēt i lerning,
as they were in olde time a
mong the Romaynes and
Grekes. Surely as I haue
diligently marked in dayly experiēce, the princ
cipall causes be these: The pryde, auarice,
and negligence of parentes, and the lacke of
fewnesse of sufficient maisters or teachers.

¶ As I said, Pryde is the first cause of this
inconueniēce. For of those persons be some,
whiche without shame dare affirme, that to
a greate gentylman, it is a notable reproche,

C. iiii.

to

Henry
beau
clerke big
of englad

to be wel learned, & to be called a great clerke,
which name they accost to be of so base esti-
mation, that they neuer haue it in their moun-
thes, but whan they speke any thinge in deris-
sion. Whiche perchance they wold not do, if
they had ones leiser to rede our own cronicle
of England, where they shal fynd, that kinge
Henry the firste, sonne of William conques-
rour, and one of the moste noble princis that
euer reigned in this realme, was openly cal-
led Henry beau clerke, whiche is in englishe,
faire clerke, and is yet at this day so named.
And whether that name be to his honour, or
to his reproche, lette thei iudge, that doo
rede, and compare his lyfe with his two bres-
therne, William, called Rouse, and Ro-
bert le courtiose, they both not haupng sems-
blable learnyng with the sayde Henry, the
one for his dissolute luyng and tyranny, be-
punge hated of all his nobles and people, fis-
nally was sodainly slayn by the shotte of an
arrowe, as he was huntynge in a forest, whis-
che to make larger, and to gyue hys deere
more libertie, did cause the houses of .lii. pa-
rishes, to be pulled doune, the people to be ex-
pelled, and all being desolate, to be turned in
to desert, and made only pasture for beastes
sauage. Whiche he wold neuer haue done, if
he had so muche delited in good lernynge, as
did his brother. The other brother, Robert le
Curtoise, beyng duke of Normandy, & the
eldest sonne of William Conquerour, al be
it that

It that he was a manne of muche prowesse,
and right expert in marciall affaires, wher-
fore he was electe befoze Godfraye of Bos-
loigne, to haue ben kynge of Hierusalem: yet
not withstandynge, whan he invaded this
realme with sundry puissaunte armies, also
dyuers noble men aydynge hym, his noble
brother Henry beau clerke, moze by wisdom
than power, also by learnynge, addynge po-
lice to vertue and courage, oftentimes van-
quished him, and dyd put him to flight. And
after sundry victories, finally toke hym and
kept hym in prison, haupnge none other mea-
nes to kepe his realme in tranquillitee.

It was for no rebuke, but for an excellēt
honour, that thempetour Antonine was sur-
named philosopher, for by his moste noble
example of luyng and industry incompara-
ble, he during al the tyme of his reigne, kept
the publike weale of the Romayns in suche
a perfect astate, that by his actes he confir-
med the sayinge of Plato, That blessed is
that publyke weale, wherin eyther philos-
ophers do reigne, or els kynge be in philos-
ophy studious.

These persons that so muche contemne
learnynge, that they would that genyrl mens
childzen shulde haue no parte or very littell
therof, but rather shulde spende their youth
alwaye (I saye not onelye in huntrynge and
hawkynge, whiche moderately vsed, as solas-
tes ought to be, I intende not to dyspraysse)
E. v. but

but in those idle pastimes, which for the vice that is therein, the commaundement of the prince, and the vniuersal coniente of the people, expressed in statutes & lawes, doe prohibite, I meane playng at dice and other games named vniuersall. These persones I say I wolde shulde remembre, or els now lerne, yf they neuer elles hearde it, that the noble Philip. kynge of Macedonia, who subdued all Grece, aboue all the good fortunes that ever he had, moste reioysed, that his sonne Alexander was bozne in the tyme that Aristotle the philosopher flourished, by whose instruction he mought attayne to moste excellent learnyng.

¶ Also the same Alexander, often tymes sayde, That he was equally as muche bounden to Aristotle, as to his father kynge Philip. For of his father he receyued lyte, but of Aristotle he receyued the waye to lyue nobly.

¶ Who dysprayed Craminondas, the moste valyant capitayne of Thebans, for that he was excellently learned and a greate philosopher?

¶ Who euer discommended Iulius Cesar for that he was a noble oratour, and nexte to Cullye, in the eloquence of the latyn tongue, excelled al other?

¶ Who euer repproued the Emperour Hadrian, for that he was so exquisitely lerned, not onely in greke and latine, but also in all sciences liberal, that openlye at Athens, in the

the vniuersal assembly of the greatest clerkes of the world, he by a longe tyme disputed with philosophers and Rhetoriciens, whiche were esteemed moſte excellent, and by the iugement of them that were presente, hadoe the psalme of rewarde of victorie. And yet by the gouernance of that noble emperour, not onely the publike weale flourished, but also dyuers rebellions were suppressed, and the maiestee of the empire hugely increased.

Was it any reproche to the noble Germanicus (who by the assignement of Augustus shoulde haue succeeded Tiberius in the empyre, if traitorous enuye had not in his flourishinge yowthe berefte hym hys life) that he was equall to the moſte noble poetes of his tyme, and to the increaſe of hys honour and moſte worthy commendation, his image was set vp at Rome in the habit that poetes at those dayes vsed?

Finally, howe muche excellent learninge commendeth and not dispraiseth nobilitie, it shall playnly appere vnto them that doo reade the lyues of Alexander, called Scuerus, Tacitus, Probus, Aurelius, Constantine, Theodosius, and Charles the greate, surnamed Charlemayne, all beyng emperours: and dooe compare them with other, whiche lacked or had not so muche of doctrine.

Merely they be farre from good reason in anyne opinion, whiche couerte to haue theyr
 this

CONCLUSION.

chyl dren, goodly in stature, delyuer, wel spyn-
gynge: wherin trees, beastes, fowles, and bir-
des, be not onely with theim equal, but also
farre doo excede theym. And cunnynge, whers-
by onely man excelleth all other creatures in
earthe, they reiecte and accompte vntwozthe
to be in their chyl dren. What vnkynde ap-
petite were it, to desyre to bee father rather
of a piece of fleshe, that can onely mene and
feele, than of a chylde, that shoulde haue the
perfecte forme of a man: what so perfectly
expreseth a man as doctrine?

Dio genes the philosopher, seeynge one
without learyng, lyte on a stone, sayde to
theim that were with hym: Beholde where
one stone lyteth on an other. Whiche wo-
des well consydered and tried, shall appere,
to conteine in theim wonderfull matter, for
the approbation of doctrine.

The seconde and thyrde decay of leary-
ng among gentylmen. Ca. xiii.

THE SECOND occasi-
on, wherefore gentyl mens
chyl dren seldome haue suffi-
ciēt lerning, is auarice. For
where theyr parentes wylle
not aduenture, to sende the
farre oute of theyr propre
countreys, partly for feare of deathe, whiche
perchaunce dare not appoche them at home
with

with their father, partlye for expence of money, whiche they suppose woulde be lesse in their owne houses, or in a village with some of their tenants or frendes, hauing seldome any regarde to the teacher, whether he be wel learned or ignozant. For if they hyre a scholemaister to teache in their houses, they chiefly enquire, with how smal a salary he wyl be contented, and neuer doo inserch how much good lernyng he hath, and how amonge wel learned men, he is therein esteemed: vsynge therein lesse diligence than in takyng seruantes, whose seruice is of muche lesse importance, and to a good scholemaister, is not in profite to be compared.

A gentilman, et he take a cooke in his seruice, wyl fyrste examyne hym diligently, how many sortes of meates, potages, and sauces he can perfectly make, and howe wel he can season them: that they may be bothe plesant and nourysshynge. yea, and if it be but a fauconer, he wyl scrupulouslye enquire, what skyl he hath in feedynge, called diete, and keepynge of his hauke from al syknes: Also howe he can reclaime her, & prepare her to flighte. And to suche a cooke or fauconer, whome he fyndeth expert, he spareth not to geue muche wages, with other bouiteous rewardes. But of a scholemaister, to whome he wyl comytte his chyld to be fed with lernynge, and instructed in vertue, whose lyfe shalbe the principal monumēt of his name and honour, he neuer

Gouernour.

neuer maketh further inquiry, but where he maye haue a schoolemaister, and with howe litell charge. And if one perchance be founden wel learned, whiche wyl not take paynes to teache without greate salary: he than speaketh nothyng more, or els sayeth, what shall so muche wages be gyuen to a schoolesmaister, whiche wolde kepe me two seruantes? To whome may be layde these wordes, that by his sonne beyng wel leaured, he shall receyue more commoditee, and also woorthyp, than by the seruaice of a hundred cookes and fauconers.

The thyrde cause of this hyndraunce, is negligēce of parentes, which I note special: lye in this poynt. There haue ben dyuers, as wel mean gentylmen as of the nobilitie, whiche delityng to haue theyr soonnes excellente in lernyng, haue prouided for them cunnyng maisters, who substantiallly haue taughte theim gramer, and very wel instructed them to speake latine elegantly, wherof the parentes haue taken muche delectation, but whan they haue had of grammer sufficiens, and be comen to the age of xiiii. yeres, and doo appoche or drawe towarde the astate of man, whiche age is called mature or ripe (wherin not onely the sayde lernynge continued by muche experience, shall be perfectiue digested and confirmed in perpetuall remembraunce, but also more seruouse lernynge conseynd in other liberal sciēces, and also philosophys
wold

would thā be lerned) the parentes this thinge
nothing regardyng, but beyng sufficed, that
theyr childzen can only speake latin proper-
lye, or make verses without matter or sen-
tence, they from then forth do suffer them to
liue in idelnes, or els putting them to seruice
doe as it were banyshe them from all vertus
ous study, and from exercise of that, whiche
they before learned. So that we may beholde
dyuers yong gentylmen, whiche in theyr in-
fancye and childhode, were wondred at for
theyr aptnes to learnynge, and prompt spea-
kyng of elegante latine, nowe beyng men,
haue not only forgotten there congruities (as
the commune word is) and kneth can speake
one hole sentēce in true latin, but that wars
is, haue al lernyng in derision and in scozne
therof, will ot wantonnesse speake the mooste
barbarously that they can imagine.

Now soen man wyl require me to shewe eloquēce
myne opinion, if it be necessary, that gentyl cōmēded
men shulde, after the age of .xiii. yeres, con-
tinue in studye. To be playn and true therein,
I dare affirme, that if to the elegante spea-
kyng of latine be not added other doctrine,
lyttel fruite maye come of the tonge, sens la-
tine is but a naturall speche, and the fruite
of speche is wise sentence, whiche is gathered
and made of sundry lernynge. And he that
hath nothyng but language only, may be no
more praisid thā a popinay, a ppe, or a store
whan they sprake featlye. There be manye
newe

Governour.

now a dayes in famous scholes and vniuersities, whiche be so muche gyuen to the study of tongues onely, that whan they write epistles, they seeme to the reader, that lyke to a trumpet, they make a sowne without any purpose, wherunto men harken moze for the noyse, than for any delectation, that thereby is meued. Wherfore they be much abused, that suppose eloquence to be onely in wordes or colours of Rhetorike. For as Cully saith, What is so furiously or madde a thyng, as a bayne sowne of wordes of the best lozte and most orzate, conteynyng neither counnyngs nor sentence?

Whate eloquence is in euery
tonge where any matter or act done or to be
done is expresse in wordes, cleane, ppropise,
orzate, and comelye, wherof sentences be so
aply compact, that they by a vertue inexpli-
cable, doe draw vnto them the mindes cons-
sent of the heares, beyng therewith either
persuaded, meued, or to delectation induced.
Also euery man is not an oratour, that
can write an epistle or a flatterynge oracion in
latine, wherof the laste (as god helpe me) is
to muche vsed. For a right oratour maye be
without a much better furnitur. Cully say-
eth that to hym belongeth the explicatyng or
vnfoldyng of sentence, with a greate estima-
tion in giuyng counsel cōcernyng matters of
great importance: also to hym apperteyneth
the styrryng and quickenyng of people, lan-
guage

gushyng or dispeyring, and to moderate the
that be eashe and vnbrideled. Wherfore no-
ble auctours do affirme, that in the fyrste in-
fancy of the world, men wandryng like beas-
tes in woodes & on mountaynes, regardinge
neither the religion due vnto god, nor the of-
fice pertainyng vnto man, ordered all thyng
by bodylye strengthe: vntill Mercurius (as
Plato supposeth) or somme other man hol-
pen by sapience, and eloquence, by some apte
or propre oracion, assembled them together,
& perswaded to them, what comoditee was
in mutual couersacion and honest maners.

¶ But yet Cornelius Tacitus describeth *cojn. Ca.*
an orator, to be of more excellent qualitees, *de orat.*
sayinge: An oratoure is he that can or maye
speke or reason in euery question sufficient-
ly, elegantly, and to persuade properly, ac-
cordinge to the dignitie of the thyng that is
spoken of, the oportunitie of tyme and pleas-
sure of them that be herers.

¶ Fully before hym affirmed, that a mā
may not be an oratoure, heaped with pryple,
but if he haue gotten the knowledge of all
thynges, and artes of greattest importaunce
And howe shall an oratoure speake of that
thyng, that he hath not learned? And because
there maye be nothyng, but it maye happen
to come in pryple or dyspryple, in consultat-
ion or iudgement, in accusation or defence
therfore an orator, by others instruction pers-
ectely furnyshed, maye in euery matter and
lernyng, commende or dyspryple, exhorte or
dissuade,

disuade, accuse, or defend eloquently, as occasion hapneth. Wherfore in as muche as in an oratour is required to bee a heape of all maner of learnyng, whych of some is called the worlde of science, of other the cercle of doctrine, whych is in one worde of Greke Encyclopedia, therefore at this date, maye be founden but a verre fewe oratours. For they that come in message frome princes, be for e honour now named orators, if they be in any degree of worthyness poore men, haung equal or moze of lerning, beyng called messagers.

Also they, whych onely teachethe rhetorike (whych is the science, wherby is taughte an artificiall fourme of spekyng, wherein is the power to perswade, moue, and delyte, or by that science only do speake or write without any administracion of other sciences) ought to be named rhetoriciens, declamatour, artificiall speakers (named in Greke Logopedai) or any other name than oratours.

¶ Semblable they that make verses, expresse thereby none other learnyng, but the craft of versifyng, be not of ancient writers named poetes, but onely called versifiers. For the name of a Poete (whereat now, specially in this realme, men haue such indignacion, that they vse onely poetes and poetry in the contempt of eloquence) was in ancient time in hygh estimaciō, in so muche that at wise dome was supposed to be therein included, And poetry was the fyrste philosof

Poetes.

phye that euer was knowen, whereby men
 frome their childehoode were brought to the
 reason, how to liue wel, lernynge therby not
 only maneres and natural affectiōs, but als
 so the wonderful workes of nature, mixing
 serious matter with thynges that were ple-
 saunte: as it shall be manifeste to them that
 shall bee so fortunatē to rede the noble war-
 kes of Plato and Aristotle: wherein ye shall
 fynde the auctoritee of poetes frequentely
 alleged: ye and that more is, In poetes was
 supposed to be sciēce mirificall, and inspired,
 and therefore in latine they were called *vas-*
tes, whych woordes signifieth as much as
 prophetes. And therefore Cully in his *Cus-*
culane questiōs supposeth, that a poete can
 not abundantly expresse verses sufficient and
 complete, or that his eloquence maye flowe
 without labour, wordes wel soundynge and
 plētuously, without celestial instinctiō, whiche
 is also by Plato ratified.

Ci. Cull
 quest. i.

¶ But sens we be nowe occupied in the des-
 fence of Poetes, it shall not be incongruente
 to oure matter, to shewe what profyte maye
 bee taken by the diligente readynge of aun-
 cient poetes: contrarie to the false opinyon
 that nowe reigorth, of the that suppose that
 in the workes of poetes is obtained nothinge
 but baudy (suche is their foule worde of res-
 proche) vnprofitable leasynge. But firste
 I wyl interpret som verses of Horace, wher-
 in he expresseth the office of poete, and after
 will I resorte to a more playne demonstra-

I. ii.

cion

Gouernour.

cion of some wisedomes and counsailes con-
teyned in some verses of poetes. Horace in
his seconde booke of epistles, saythe in this
wyle, or inuche lyke.

Horat. ep. The poet facioneth by some pleasant means
ll. 2. epist. The speche of children tender and vn-
ad August Gullping their eares from wordes vncleane,
stum. Hyppung to them preceptes that are pure,
Rebuking enuy and wrath, if it dure,
Thinges wel done he can by exāple cōmend,
The nedy and sycke he doth also his cure
To recomforte, if aught he can amende.

But they whiche be ignorant in poetes,
wyl perchauce obiecte, as their maner is,
agaynst these verses, sayinge, that in The-
rence, and other, that were writers of come-
dies, Ouid, Catullus, Martialis, and all
that route of lasciuious poetes, that wrote
epistles and ditties of loue, some called in
latine Elegie, and some Epigrammata, is no-
thing conteyned, but incitation to lechery,
comedies ¶ If first comedies, whiche they suppose to
be a doctryne of rybaudry, they be vndou-
tedlye a picture, or as it were a myrroure of
mans lyfe, wherein yuell is not taughte, but
discouered, to shew that men beholdinge
the pishpnes of youth vnto vice, the snares
of harlottes and baudes, layd for yong myn-
des, the disceypte of seruantes, the chaunces
of fortune, contrary to mens expectation, they
becynge thereof warned, maye prepare theym
selfe

selfe to resyste and pzeuente occasion. Sem-
blably remembryng the wpsedomes, aduer-
tisementes, counsels, dissuasions from vice,
and other profitable sentences, moſte elo-
quentlye and familiarly shewed in those co-
medies. And doubtedlye there shal be no lyttel
fruite out of them gathered. And if the vices
in them expressed, shuld be cause, that mindes
of the reders shulde be corrupted: than by the
same argumente not onely enterludes in en-
glish, but also sermons wherein some vice
is declared, shuld be to the beholders and he-
rers lyke occasyon to encrease synners. And
that by comedyes, good counsayle is minis-
tered, it appereth by the sentence of Parme-
no, in the seconde comedie of Cherence.

In this thyng I triuph in myne own cōceit
That I haue fōūden for al yōg mē the way:
How they of harlots shal know the deceipt,
Their wils, & maners, that therby they may
Them perpetually hate: for so much as they
Out of their own houses be fresh & deliuate,
Fedyng curiously: at home al the day
Lpyng beggarly, in moſte wretched astate.

¶ There be many mo wordes spoken, whiche
I purposely ompt to translate, not with-
standynge the substance of the hole sentence
is here in comprised. But now to come to o-
ther poetes. What may be better sayde, than
is written by Plautus in his fyrst comedie:

F.iii. Mers

Plaut⁹ in Amph. i. **Verily** vertue dooeth al thynges excel.
Plc. loqui For if libertee, helth, luyng, and substance,
 Our countrey, our parētes & childzen do wel,
 It hapneth by vertue, she dothe all aduance.
 Vertue hath al thinge vnder gouernauce,
 And in whom of vertue is fofiden gret plēty.
 Any thing that is good may neuer be deimty.
Also **Quidius**, that semeth to be moſte of
 all poetes laſciuiouſe, in his moſte wanton
 bookes hath the right commendable and noble
 ſentences, as for proſe therof, I wyl recite
 ſome that I haue taken at auenture.

Quidius **Time** is medicine, if it ſhal profite.
be remed. Wyne geuen out of tyme may be a noyance,
amozis. A man ſhal irritate vice, if he prohibite
 When tyme is not meto vnto his vittrance,
 Therfore, if thou per by counſayle arte recus
 perable.
 Flee thou from idelneſſe, & alway be ſtable.

Marcialis, whiche for his diſſolute wyſe
 tynge, is moſt ſeldome red of men of muche
 grauitie, hath not withſtandynge many com
 mendable ſentences and ryghte wyſe coun
 ſailles, as among diuers, I wyl reherſe one,
 whiche is firſt come to my remembraunce.

Marcia: **If** thou wylt eſchewe bitter aduenture,
lis lib. 12. And auoid the gnawing of a penſiful harte,
ad Juliū Set in no one perſon all holly thy pleaſure,
 The leſſe ſhalt thou wy, but leſſe ſhalt thou
 ſmart.

If I could recite, a great numbꝛe of sembla-
ble good sentences, oute of these and other
wanton poetes, whiche in latine doe expresse
theym incomparably, with moze grace and
delectacion to the reader, than oure englyshe
tong maye yet comprehend. Wherfoze sens
good and wise matter, may be picked oute of
these poetes: it were no reason for some lit-
tel matter, that is in their verses, to abaddon
therefoze all their warkes, no moze than it
were to forbear oꝝ prohibite a man to come
into a faire gardeyne, leaſt the redolente sa-
uours of swete herbes and floures shal meue
hym to wanton courage, oꝝ leſte in gadꝝyng
good and holſome herbes, he may happen to
be ſtung with a nettle. No wiſe man entereth
into a gardeyne, but he ſoone eſpieth good
herbes from nettles, and treadeth the nettles
vnder his fete, whyles he gadꝝeth the good her-
bes: whereby he taketh no damage. Oꝝ yf he
be ſtungen, he maketh light of it, and ſhortlye
forgetteth it. Semblably if he doe rede wans-
ton matter, mixt with wiſedome, he putteth
the woꝛſt vnder foote, & ſorteth oute the
beſt, oꝝ if his courage be ſtired oꝝ prouoked,
he remembꝛeth the littel pleaſure and greates
detrimente that ſhulde enſue of it: and with
dꝛawꝝyng his mynde to ſome other ſtudye oꝝ
exerciſe, ſhortlye forgetteth it.

And therfoze among the ſciences, though it
were prohibite to chyldeꝛen, vntyll they came
to ripe yeres, to rede the bookes of Genesis,
of the iuges, Cantica, canticorum, & ſome

parte of the booke of Ezechiel the prophete.
 For that in them was contained some mat-
 ter, which mought happē to incense the yonge
 mynde, wherein were sparkes of carnall con-
 cupiscence, yet after certayne yeares of mens
 ages, it was lesul for euery man to rede and
 diligently study those warkes. So although
 I approue not the lesson of wanton poetes
 to be taught vnto all childezen: yet thynke I
 conuenient and necessarie, that whan the
 mynde is become constauite, and courage is
 assuaged, or that childezen of their naturall
 disposition be shamefast and continent, none
 auncient poete woulde be excluded from the
 lesson of suche one, as despyeth to come to the
 perfection of wysedome.

But in defendyng of oratours and poe-
 tes. I had almoste forgotten where I was.
 Merely there maye no man bee an excellent
 poete, nor orator, vnlesse he haue parte of all
 other doctrine, specially of noble philosophy.
 And to say the trouth, no mē can appzehende
 the verbe delectacion, that is in the lesson of
 noble poetes, vnlesse he haue red very much,
 and in diuers autours of dyuers lernynges.
 Wherfore, as I late sayde, to the augmen-
 tacion of vnderstandyng, called in latine
 Intellectus & mens, is required to be much
 redyng and vigilante studye in euerye scis-
 ence, specially of that parte of philosophye
 named moral, whiche instructeth menne in
 vertue and polyphe gouernaunce. Also no-
 ble autoure, specially of them that wrote in
 greke

greke or latine before. xii. C. yeares passed, is not for anye cause to be omitted. For therin I am of Quintilianus opinyon, that there is fewe or none ancient warke, that yeldethe not some fruite or commoditie to the diligent readers. And it is a very grosse or obstinate wytte, that by readynge muche, is not somewhat amended.

C Concerninge the electiō of other authoꝝ to be red, I haue as (I truste) declared sufficiently my conceit and opinion, in the. x. and xi. chapters.

C Finallye, lyke as a delicate tree, that cometh of a kernel, whyche as sone as it burgebeth oute leaues, yf it be plucked vp, or it be sufficiently rooted, and layde in a corner, becometh drye or rotten, and no fruite cometh of it: if it be remoued and sette in another ayre or earthe, whyche is of contrarie qualities where it was before, it either semblably dyeth, or beareth no fruite, or elles the fruite that cometh of it, leese the his verdure and tast, and finallye his estimacion. So the pure and excellent leaenyng, wherof I haue spoken, though it be sown in a chylde neuer so tymely, and spyngeth and burgenethe neuer so pleasauntly, yf before it take a deepe roote in the mynde of the chylde, it be layed asyde, either by to muche solace, or continuall attendaunce in seruice, or elles is translated to another studie, whiche is of a more grosse or vnpleasent qualitee, before it be co-

Gouernour.

firmed or stablyfshed by often readpng or diligent exercise, in cōclufion it vanifsheth and cometh to nothing. Wherfoze lette men respice as they lyst, in myne opinyon, men bee wonderfully disceiued now a dayes (I dare not say with the persuation of auarise) that do put their childre at the age of. xiiii. or. xv. yerres, to the study of the lawes of the realme of England, I wyl shewe theim reasonable causes why, if they wyl paciently here me, in fourmed partly by myn owne experience.

How the studētes in the lawes of this realme may take excellent comoditie by the lessons of sundry doctriues. ca. xiiii.

It maye not be denyed, but that all lawes be founded on the depest parte of reason, as I suppose, no one law so muche as oure owne: and the deper men do inuestigate reason, the more difficyle or harde must neddes bee the studye. Also that reuerende study is inuolued in soo barbarous a langage, that it is not only boyde of al eloquēce, but also being separate from the exercise of oure law only, it serueth to no comoditie or necessary purpose, no man vnderstandyng it, but they, whiche haue studied the lawes. Than children at. xiiii. or. xv. yerres olde, in whyche yme springeth courage, sette all in pleasure, and pleasure is in nothing, that is not facile,
or

or elegant, being brought to the moste difficult
 and graue learning, which hath nothinge ille:
 rebrouse or delicate to tickle their tender wis-
 ses, and illure them to studie, onles it be lus-
 tre (whych a gentill wit littel esteemeth) the
 moze parte vanquished with tediousnes, ey-
 ther doe abādon the lawes , and vnwares to
 their frendes, do geue them to gaming, and
 other (as I mought say) ydell busines, now
 called pastymes, or els if they be in any wyle
 therto constrained, they apprehending a pece
 therof, as if they beyng long in a darke duns-
 gion, onely did se by the lyghte of a candel:
Chā if after, xx. or. xxx. yerres study, they hap-
 pen to come among wise men, herynge mat-
 ters comened of, concerlinge a publike weale
 or outward affaires betwene princis, they no
 lesse be astonied, than if they coming oure of
 a darke house at noon dayes, were sodainlye
 stricken in the eyes with a bright sūne beame.
 But I speke not this in reproch of lawiers,
 for I knowe diuers of them, whych in con-
 sultacion wil make a right vehemente reson,
 and so do some other, whych haue neyther
 lawe nor other lernyng, and if they were sus-
 nished with excellent doctrine, their reason
 shulde be the moze substantial and certayne.
A There be some also, whiche by their fren-
 des, be coarted to apply the studie of the law
 onely, and for lacke of plentious exhibition
 be let of their libertie: wherfore they can not
 resorte vnto pastyme. These of all other bee
 most

Gouernment.

moste caste awaye, for nature repougnynge, they vnneeth taste any thyng that may be profitable, and also theyr courage is so mortified (whiche yet by solace perchance mought be made quicke or apte to some other studie or laudable exercise, that they lyue ever after out of al estimation: Wherefore Cully saith We shulde so endeuour oure selues, that we strue not with the vniuersal nature of man but that being conserued let vs folowe oure owne propre natures, for though there bee studies of moze grauitee and importance, yet ought we to regarde the studies, wherto we be, by our owne nature inclyned. And that this sentence is true, we haue daylye experience in this realme speciallye. For howe many men be there whose sonnes in chyldhode are aptly disposed by nature to paynte herue or graue, to embrowder, or doo other lyke thynges, wherin is anye arte commendable, concernynge inuencion, whych as soone as they espye it, bee therewith displeased, and forthwith byndeth them apprentyses to tapers, lours, weauers, coukers, and sometyme to coblars: whych hath bene the inestimable losse of manye good wittes, and hath caused that in the sayde artes englyshe men be inferior to al other people, and be constreigned, yf we wyl haue anye thyng wel painted, herued, or imbrowdred, to leaue oure owne countrey men, and resorte vnto straungers: but: moze of this shall I speake in the nexte

next volume. But to resorte vnto lawyers.

[I thinke verily, if children were brought vp, as I haue written, and continually were retained in the right study of very philosophy vntil they passed the age of .xxi. yeares, and than set to the lawes of this realme (beinge ones brought to a more certaine and compendious studie, and either in englyshe, latyne, or good french, written in a more cleane and elegant style (vndoubtedly they shulde become men of so excellente wisdom, that throught out all the worlde shulde be founden in no I mune weale more noble counsaillours, our lawes not onely comprehendynge moste excellent reasons, but also being gathered and compacte (as I mought saye) of the pure meale or flowre, spted out of the best lawes in all other countreys, as some what I do intende to proue euidently in the next volume, where in I wyl rendre mine office or dietie, to that honourable studie, whereby my father was aduanced to a Iudge, and also I my selfe haue attayned no lyttel commoditee.

[I suppose, there be diuers men wyl saye, that the sweetnesse that is conteyned in eloquence, and the multitude of doctrines shuld vterly withdraue the myndes of yong men from the more necessarpe studie of the lawes of this realme. To them wyl I make a brefs aunswere, but true it shall bee, and I truste sufficient to wyle men. In the greates multitude of yonge men, whiche alwaye wyl res
payre

payre, and the lawe beyng ones broughte in
to a more certaine and perfect language, wyl
also increase in the reuerente studie of the
lawe: vndoubtedly there shall neuer lacke,
but some by nature inclined, diuers by de-
sire of sundry doctrines, manye for hope of
lucre, or some other aduuncement, wyl ef-
fectually study the lawes, ne wil be therfrom
withdrawen by any other lesson, whych is
more eloquente. Example we haue, at this
present tyme, of diuers excellent lerned men
bothe in the lawes ciuile and also in phisike,
whych beyng exatlye studyed in all partes
of eloquence, bothe in the Greke tonge, and
latine, haue not withstandynge red and per-
bled the greate fardelles and trusses of the
moste barbarous autours stuffed with innu-
merable gloses: wherby the moste necessarie
doctrines of lawe and phisike be minced in
to fragmentes, and in all wyse mens opin-
ons, do persepue no lesse in the sayd lernyn-
ges, than they, which neuer knew eloquence,
or neuer tasted other but the freis or draggos
of the sayd noble doctrines. And as for the
multitude of sciences can not indamage anye
student, but yf he be moued to study the law
by anye of the sayde motions, by me before
touched, he shall rather increase therin, than
be hyndred, and that shall appere manifest:
Ipe to them, that eyther wyl geue credence to
my reposit, or els wyl rede the markes that
I wyl alladge, which if they vnderstand not,

to deliuer some learned man by interpretynge
to cause them perceiue it. And fyrste I wil
begynne at oratours, whos beare the princis
pal title of eloquence

It is to be remembred, that in the lerning of **The arte**
the lawes of this realme, there is at this daye of rhetor
and exercise, wherin is a maner of a shadow like i mo
or figure of the auncient Rhetorike, I meane tyng.
the pleadynge vled in court and chancery cal
led mores: Where fyrste a case is appointed
to be moted by certain pong men, conteining
some doubtful cōtroversy, whiche is in steede
of the head of a declamation, called Thema,
the case being knowne, they whiche be apoin
ted to mote, do examine the case, and inuesti
gate what they therein can espye, whiche maye
make a contention, wherof maye ryse a ques
tion to be argued, and that of Cuius is con
stitutio: of Quintilian Status cause. Also
they cōsider what pleas on euery part ought
to be made, and howe the case maye be reioi
ned. Whiche is the fyrste parte of rhetorike,
named Inuencion. Than apoynt they, howe
many pleas may be made for euery part, and
in what formaltee they shuld be set. Which
is the seconde parte of Rhetorike, called
disposicion, wherin they doe muche approche
vnto Rhetorike. Than gather they al into
perfect remembraunce, in suche order as it
oughte to bee pleaded, whiche is the parte
of Rhetorike named Memorie. But for
as muche as the tongue, wherin it is spoken,

Gouernour.

is barbarous, and the sterpne of affectiōs
of the mynd in this realme was neuer vled,
therefore there lacketh Eloquution & Pro:
nunciacion, two the principall partes of
Rhetorike. Notwithstādyng som lawyers,
yf they be well retained, wyl in a meane cause
pronounce right vehemētly. Moreover, there
seemeth to be in the sayde pledynges, certayne
partes of an oracion, that is to say, for Par:
rations, Partitions, Confirmacions, and
Confutations, named of some Reprehen:
cions. They haue Declaraciōs, Barres, Re:
plicacions, and Reioynders, only they lacke
plesant forme of beginnyng, called in latin
Exordium: nor it maketh thereof no greate
matter, they that haue studied retorike, shall
perceiue what I meane. Also in arguyng
their cases, in myn opinion they lacke verpe
lyttell of the hole art: for therein they doe dis:
ligentlike obserue the rules of confirmacyon
and confutation, wherein resteth prose and
disprose: haupyng almost al the places, wher:
of they shall fetch their reasons, called of
oratours Loci communes, which I omitt to
name, fearyng to be longe in this matter.
And verely I suppose, if there mought ones
happen some man, haupyng an excellent wit,
to be brought vp in suche fourme, as I haue
hitherto wrytten, and maye also be exactlye
or depelye learned in the arte of an oratour,
and also in the lawes of this realme, the
prince so willyng and thereto assentyng, vn:
doub

doubtedly it shuld not be impossible for him to bypge the pleadyng and resonyng of the lawe, to the auncient fourme of noble orators, and the lawes and exercise thereof, beyng in pure latin or double frenche, fewe men in consultations, shoulde (in myne opinion) compare with oure lawyers, by this meanes beinge brought to perfecte orators, as in whom shuld than be founden the sharp wittes of logicians, the graue sentences of philosophers, the elegancie of poetes, the measure of ciuitians, the voyce and gesture of them that can pronounce comedies, whiche is all that Culli, in the person of the moste orator, eloquent man Marcus Antonius, coulde saye, li. i. require to be in an orator.

But now to conclude mine assestis. What let was eloquence to the studie of the lawe in Quintus Scaevola, whiche beinge an excellent autor in the lawes ciuile, was called of all lawyers moste eloquent? Or howe muche was eloquence mynished by knowlege of the lawes in Crassus, whiche was called of al eloquent men the best lawyer?

Also Seruus Sulpitius, in his tyme one of the most noble orators, nexte vnto Cullye, was not so lette by eloquence, but that on the Ciuile lawes he made notable commentes, and manye noble warkes by al lawyers approued. Who readethe the texte of Ciuile, called the Pandectes or Digestes, hath any commendable iugement in the latin tong,

but he wyl affirme, that Tullianus, Scaurus
la, Caius, and all the other there named, of
whose saynges al the sayde texts be assem-
bled, were not onely studious of eloquence,
but also therein wonderfully exercised: for as
much as their stile doth approche nerer to the
antique & pure eloquence, than any other kynd
of writers, that wrote aboute that tyme.

¶ Seblably Tully, in whom it semeth, that
Eloquence hath set hir glorious Throne most
richly and pretiously adourned for all men to
wonder at, but no manne to approach it, was
not let from being an incomparable oratour,
he was by the exact knowlege of other sciens-
es withdrawn, fro pleadynge infinite caus-
ses before the Senat and iuges, & they being
of moche wayghte importance: In so much
as Cornelius Tacitus, an excellent oratour
historien, and lawyer, saith: Surely in the
bookes of Tully, menne maye dephehnde,
that in hym lacked not the knowlege of geo-
metrie, ne musike, ne grammer, finallye of
no maner of arte that was honeste, he of lo-
gike percepued the subtiltye, of that parte
that was mozal al the commoditie and of al
thynges the chiefe mocions and causes. And
yet for all this abundaunce, and as it were
a garnerde heaped with all maner sciences,
there failed not in him substantial learning
in the lawes civile, as it may appere as wel
in the bookes, whiche he hym selfe made of
lawes, as also, and most specially in manye
of

copn. Ca.
de oratoze

of his most eloquent orations: whiche if one wel leaened in the lawes of this realme, did rede and wel vnderstande, he shoulde finde specialllye in his orations called actiones as gaime verres, manye places, where he shulde espye by lykelyhode the fountaynes, frome whens proceeded diuers groundes of our cō- mane lawes. But I wyl now leue to speake any moze thereof at this tyme.

A Mozeouer, whan yonge menne haue red lawes, expounded in the orations of Cullye, and also in histories, of the begynnyng of lawes, and in the markes of Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotel, of the diuersities of lawes and publike weales, of nature (as I late sayde) wyl dispoise them to that maner studie, they shal be thereto the moze incensed, and come vnto it the better prepared & furnished. And they whome nature thereto hath ynclined meuetly, haue not onely saued all that tyme, whiche many now a dayes do consume in idelnesse, but also haue won suche a treasure, whereby they shal alwaye be able to serue honourablye their pryncer: the publike weale of their countreie, principalllye if they conferre al their doctrynes to the moste noble studie of moral philosophy, whiche teacheth both vertues maners, & ciuile pollicie: where by at the last we shoulde haue in this realme sufficiencie of worshippefull lawyers, and also a publike weale equivalent to the Grekes or Romaynes.

For what cause at this day there be in
this realme fewe perfecte schole
maisters. Capitulo .xv.



God lord how many good
and cleue wittes of children
be now a dayes perished by
ignozaunt schole maisters,
Howe litle substacial doct-
ryne is apprehended by the
fewenesse of good gramma-
rians: Notwithstandinge I know that there
be some wel lerned, whiche haue taught, and
also doe teache, but god knoweth a few, and
they with smal effect, haupng ther to no com-
fort: their aptist and moste propre schoolers,
after they be wel instructed in speakynge la-
tine, and vnderstandyng some portes, beinge
taken frome their schoole by their parentes,
and either be broughte to the courte, & made
lakayes oz pages, oz elles are bounden pen-
siles, whereby the woꝝshipp that the master
aboue anye rewarde, couapseth to haue by
the prayse of his scholer, is viterly drownd.
Wherof I haue harde schoole maisters very
wel lerned, of good right, complayne. But yet
(as I sayd) the fewenesse of good grāmaries
is a great impediment of doctrine. And here
I wolde the reders shuld marke, that I note
to be fewe good grāmaries, and not none,
I cal not them grāmaries, whiche onely
can teache oz make rules, whereby a chyld
shal

shal onelye learne to speake congrue latin, or
 to make sixe verses standynge on one foote,
 wherein perchance shal be neyther sentence
 nor eloquence. But I name hym a grammari-
 en by the auctoritie of Quintilian, that spe- fab. Quis
 kyng latine elegantly, can expoude good au- tilian. li. i
 tores, expressing the inuencion and disposiciō
 of the matter, their stile or fourme of elo-
 quence, explicatyng the figures, as well of
 sentences as wordes, leuynge nothyng, per-
 son or place named by the auctor, vnderlas-
 ed, or hydde from his scholars. Wherefore
 Quintilian saith, It is not enough for hym
 to haue red poetes, but al kyndes of writynge
 must also be sought for, not for the histories
 onelye, but also for the propertie of wordes,
 whiche communely doo receiue their aucto-
 ritie of noble auctors. Moreover, withoute
 musike, grammar may not be perfecte: for as
 muche as therein muste be spoken of metres
 and harmonies, called rythmi in greke. Yet
 ther yf he haue not the knowlege of metres,
 he maye vnderstande poetes, whiche in de-
 scription of tymes (I omitte other thinges)
 they traist of the rylynge and goynge downe
 of planettes. Also he maye not be ignorant in
 philosophye, for many places that be almoste
 i every poete, be fetcht out of the most subtile
 parte of naturall questions. These be well
 nynghe the wordes of Quintilian. Than be-
 holde how fewe grammariens, after this de-
 scription be in this realme.

Undoubtedly there be in this realme manye well lerned, which if the name of a schole maister were not so much had in contempte, and also yf their labours with abundante salaries moughte be requited, were ryghte sufficiente and able to induce their hearers to excellēt lernyng, so they be not plucked away greene, and so they be in doctrine sufficiently rooted. But nowe a dayes, yf to a bachelor or maister of arte, studie of philosophie was the tedious. if he have a sponse full of latin, he wyl shewe to the a hoggeshead, without anye learnyng, and offre to teache grammar and expounde noble wryters: and to be in the roume of a maister, he wyl for a small salar, sette a false colour of lerninge on proper wrytes, whych wyl bee washed awaye with one shoure of rayne. For if the chylde be absent from schoole, by the space of one moneth, the beast learned of them, wyl vnneth tel whether f A T D, wherby Eneas was broughte in to Italy, were other a manne, a horse, a myppe, or a wilde goose: Althoughe their maister wyl perchaunce aunte hym selfe to be a good philosopher.

Virgili
Aeneid. b.
in secundo

fab. Aut.
lib. i.

Some men peradventure do thynke, that at the begynnyng of learnyng, it forceth not althoughe the maisters haue not so exacte doctrine as I haue reherseed, but lette them take good heede, what Quintilian saith, It is so muche the better, to be instructed by them that are beast learned, for as muche as

it is difficultee to put out of the mynde, that
whiche is ones settelld, the double bourden
beyng peinesful to the maisters that shall suc-
cede, and verily much more to vnteachē than
to teachē. Wherefore it is writen, that C^{is}
mothe the noble musician, demanded alway
a greater reward of thim, whome othe had
taught; than of them that neuer anye thyng
learned. These be the wordes of Quintilian
oz lyke.

¶ Also the commune experience teacheth,
that no manne wyl put his sonne to a bot-
cher to learne, oz he bynde hym prentise to a
taylour. Or yf he wyl haue hym a connyng
goldsmith, wyl he bynde hym fynde prentise to
a tinker. In these thynges poore menne be
circumspecte, and the nobles and gentylmen,
who woulde haue their sonnes by excellent
learning come vnto honour, for sparinge of
coste, oz for lacke of diligente serche for a
good schoole maister, wilfully distrope their
chyldezen, causynge them to bee taughte that
learnynge, whiche woulde require sixe oz se-
uen yeres to be forgotten, by which tyme the
more parte of that age is spent, wherein is
the chiefe sharpenes of witte, called in latin
acumen, and also than approacheth the stub-
borne age, where the childe broughte vp in
pleasure, disdaineth correction.

¶ Some haue I al declared (as I do sup-
pose) the chiefe impechementes of excellent
learnynge, of the reformation I neede not to

G.iiii.

speake

Speke, sens it is apparat, that by the contras-
ries, men purfuyng earnestly with discrete iudg-
ement, & liberalitie, it shuld longe be amended

¶ Of sundry fourmes of exercise necessary
for euery gentylman. Cap. xvi.



Althoughe I haue hitherto
aduaunced the commendac-
tion of lernynge, speciallpe
in gentilmen: yet it is to be
considered, that continuall
studpe, without somme ma-
ner of exercise, shortly ex-
hausteth the spirites vital,
and hindereth natural decoction & degection,
whereby mans body is the soner corrupted &
brought into diuers sicknesses, & finallye the
life is thereby made shorter. Where contrary-
wyle, by exercise, which is a vehement motion
(as Galene prince of physicions defineth) the
helthe of man is preserved, and his strength
increased: for as muche as the membres by
meuing and mutual touching, do waxe more
harde, and naturall heate in al the bodye
is thereby augmented. Moreover it maketh
the spirytes of a manne more stronge and
valiant, so that by the hardnes of the mem-
bres, al laboures be more tollerable, by natu-
ral heate, the appetite is the more quicke: the
change of the substance receiued, is the more
easie, the nourishing of al parties of the bodye

is the more sufficient and sure. By valiante motion of the spirites, al thinges superfluous be expelled, and the condaites of the body clenched.

¶ Wherfore this part of phisike is not to be contened or neglected in the education of childzen, and specially from the age of. xiii. yeres vpwarde, in which tyme strengthe, with courage increaseth

¶ Moreover, there be diuers maners of exercises, whereof some onely prepare the and healpeth digestion, some augmenteth also strength and hardynes of body, other serue for agilitie and nimblenes, some for celerity or spedinesse. There be also, whiche ought to be vled for necessitie only. Al these ought he that is a tutoure to a noble man; to haue in remembrance: and as oportunitie serueth to put them in exercise. And specially them, whiche with helth do lopne commoditie (and as I mought saye) necessitie: consyderynge that he be neuer so noble or valiant, sometime he is subiect to perille, or to speake it more pleasantly) seruaunt to fortune. Touchynge suche exercises, as many be vled within the house, or in the shadowe (as is the olde manner of speakynge) as deambulaciōs or moderate walkinges, labouring with poples made of leade or other metall, called in latine Aliteres, Lpstyng and throwyng the heuy stone or barre, playnge at tenple, and diuers semblable exercises, I wyl for this tyme passe

G. b.

ouer,

ouer, exhortynge thaim, whyche doo hundred
stande latine, and do desire to know the com
modities of sundry exercises, to resorte to the
booke of Galene, of the gouernance of helthe,
called i latin de sanitate tuenda, where they
shal be in that matter abundantlye satisfied,
and fynde in the readynge muche delectaciō:
whiche booke is trāslated into latine, won
derful eloquentlye, by doctour Linacre, late
moſte woorthy phisicion, to our moſte noble
ſoueraigne lord kynge Henry. the. viii. And
I wil nowe onely ſpeake of thoſe exercises,
apte to the furniture of a gentyl mans per
ſonage, adaptyng his bodye to hardeneſſe,
ſtrength, and agylty, and to helpe therewith
hym ſelfe in perill, whyche maye happen in
warres or other neceſſities.

¶ Exercises, whereby ſhulde growe bothe
recreation and proſite. cap. xvii.

Vraſtling is a verye good exercise in
the beginnyng of youth, ſo that it be
with one that is equall in ſtrength, or
ſomewhat vnder, and that the place be ſoſte,
that in falling their bodies be not hurt.

Wraſtling
Galenus.

¶ There be diuers maners of wraſtlings,
but the beſt, as wel for healthe of bodye, as
for exercise of ſtrength is, whan laying ma
tually their handes one ouer anothers necke
with the other hande, they holde faſt eche o
ther by the arme, and claspynge their legges
together.

together, they inforce the selues with strength and agilitie, to throw down eche other, wher the is also praised by Galene. And vndoubtedly it shal be founde profitable in warres, in case that a capytayne shal be constrained to cope with his aduersary hand to hand hauping his weapon broken or lost.

Also it hath bene sene, that the weaker person by the sleight of wastling, hath ouerthrowen the stronger, almost or he coulde fasten on the other any violent stroke.

Also renning is both a good exercise and a laudable solace, It is written of Epamyronidas, the valiant capitayne of Thebanes (who as wel in vertue and promesse, as in lernyng, surmounted al noble men of his tyme) that dayely he exercised hym selfe in the mornynge, with rennyng and leappynge, in the euening in wastling, to the intent that lykewys in armure he mought the more strongly, embrasyng his aduersary, put hym in daunger. And also that in the chase rennyng and leappynge, he moughte either ouertake his enemy, or beyng pursued, of extreme neede required, escape hym.

Also Semblably before hym dyd the worthy Achilles, for whyles his shippes laye at rode, he suffered not his people to slumber in idleness, but dayely exercised them and hym selfe in rennyng, wherein he was most excellent, and passed al other and therefore ho more throughout al hys warke calleth hym swift

Euening

CONERNING,

Swifte foote Achilles.

The great Alexander, beyng a chyld, excelled all his companions in renning. Wheresfore on a tyme one demaunded of hym, yf he wolde renne at the greate game of olympus wherto cometh of al parties of Grece, came the moste active and valiant persones, to assaye maneries. Wherevnto Alexander answered in this fourme, I wolde very gladdely renne there, yf I were sure to renne with kynge; for if I shulde contende with a private person, having respect to our bothe astaties, oure victories shulde not be equal.

Andes must rennyng be taken for a laudable exercise, seng one of the moste noble captaynes of al the Romayns, toke his name of rennyng, and was called papirius cursor, whiche is in englyshe, Hapryus the Renner. And also the valiaunt Martus the Romayne, whan he hadde ben seven tymes Consul, and was of the age of fourescore yere, exercised hym selfe dayly amonge the yong men of Rome, in suche wyse, that there resorted people out of far partes, to beholde the strengthe and agilitie of that olde Consul, wherein he compared with the yong and lusty souldiours.

Stym-
myng.

There is an exercise, whiche is right profitable in extreme danger of warres; but because there seemeth to be some perille in the learning therof, and also it hath not ben of longe tyme muche used, specially amonge noble

ble men, perchance some reders wyl lyttell esteeme it, I meane swymmyng. But not withstandyng, if they reuolue the imbecillitye of our nature, the hazards and dangers of battayle, with the examples, whych shall hereafter be shewed, they wyl (I doubt not) thynke it as necessary to a capitayne or man of armes, as any that I haue yet reherseed.

The Romaynes, who aboue all thynges, had moste in estimacion martiall prowesse, had a large and spacious felde, without the cite of Rome, whych was called **Martes** felde, in latine campus Martius, wherein the yowthe of the cite was exercised. **This Campus** felde adioyned to the ryuer of Tyber, to the **Martius** intent that as well men as chyldren, shoulde washe and refreche theim in the water after their labours, as also learne to swymme. And not men and chyldren only, but also the hoxses: that by suche vsage they shoulde more aptely and boldely passe ouer greate riuers, and be more able to resiste or cut the waues, and not be aferd of pirries or greate stormes, For it hath ben oftentimes sene, that by the good swymmyng of hoxses, many men hath bene saued: and contrarywyle, by a tymorous royle, where the water hath vneth com to his heale, his legges hath colired, whereby many a good and prynceman hath perished. What benefyte receyued the holle citee of Rome, by the swymmyng of **Dracius** **Laes**les: Whych is a noble history, and worthy to

to be remembred.

After the Romaynes had expelled Car-
quine their kyng, as I haue before remem-
bred, he desired ayde of Porſena, kyng of
Eulcanes, a noble and valiant prince, to re-
ouer eſtiones his realme and dignitie: who
with a great and puiſſaunt hoſt, beſieged the
citie of Rome, and ſo ſodainely and ſurpryſe
aſſaulted it, that it lacked but littell, that he
he had entred into the citie with his hoſte, or
uer the byrge, called ſublitiuſ, where en-
countred with him this Oratius with a fewe
Romaynes. And whiles this noble captaine
beyng alone, with an incredible ſtrength re-
ſiſted al the hoſte of Porſena, that were on
the byrge, he commaunded the byrge to be
broken behynd hym, wherewithall the Eul-
canes theron ſtandynge, fel into the greates
ryuer of Tyber, but Oratius al armed lepte
into the water, and ſwamme to his compa-
nye. Al be it that he was ſtriken with manye
arrowes and dertes, and alſo greuouſely
wounded, notwithſtandynge by his noble
courage and feate of ſwymmynge, he ſaued
the citie of Rome from perpetual ſeruitude,
whiche was likely to haue enſued by the re-
turne of the proude Carquine.

Julius ce-
ſar swim-
myng.

Howe muche profited the feate of ſwym-
myng to the valiant Julius ceſar: Who
at the battaille of Alexandri, on a byrge bey-
ng abandoned of his people for the multis-
tude of his enemies, whiche oppreſſed them,
whan

whan he myght no longer susteine the Moite
of darts and arrowes, he boldly leapt into the
sea, and diuing vnder the water, escaped the
shot, and swamme the space of .LX. paces to
one of his Mysses, drawynge his cole armure
with his teethe after hym, that his ennemies
wuld not atteine it, and also that it mought
somewhat defende hym from their arrowes:
And that moze meruaile was, holding in his
hand aboue the water, certain letters, whiche
a litle before he had receiued fro the Senat.

Sertorius

Before hym Sertorius (who of the Spa
niardes was named the seconde Annibal for
his prowesse) in the battayle that Scipio
fought agaynst the Cimbres, whiche inuas
ded France, whan by negligence of his peo
ple, his ennemie preuailed, and put his hoste
to the worse, he beinge sore wounded, and
his horse beyng losse, armed as he was in a
gesseron, holding in his handes a tergat and
his sworde, leapt into the ryuer of Rome, whi
che is wonderful swift, and swimynge as
gainst the streame, came to his companie, not
withowt great wonderynge of al his enemies,
whiche stode and behelde hym,

The great king Alexander lamented, that
he had not wel learned to swimme. For in
Indie whan he wente agaynst the puissant
kynge Porus, he was constrainned, in folow
ynge his enterpryse, to conuey his best ouer
a ryuer of wonderful greatnes: than caused
he his horsemen to gage the water, whereby
he

he fyrst perceiued that it came to the bestes
of the horses, in the myddle of the streame,
the horses went in water to the necke, where
with the footemen beyng aferde, durste not
aduenture to passe ouer the ryuer. Alexander
perceiuyng that, with a doloious maner in
this wise lamented, O howe moste vnhappye
am I of al other, that haue not of this time
lerned to swimme. And therewith he pulled
a tergate frome one of his souldiours, and
carynge it into the water, standynge on it,
with hys speare, conuerped him selfe with the
streame, and gouernynge the tergate wyselye,
brought hym selfe vnto the other syde of the
water. Whereof his people beyng abashed,
some assayed to swimme, some holdynge fast
by the horses, other by speares, and other like
weapons, manye vpon fardels and trusses,
gate ouer the ryuer: in so muche as nothyng
was perished saue a lyttel baggage, and of
that no great quantitie loste.

¶ What vertutye was shewed to be in swim-
myng at the fyrste warres, whiche the Ro-
mapnes had agaynst the Carthaginenses.
It happened a battayle to be on the see be-
twene them, where they of Carthage, beinge
vanquished, woulde haue set vp their sailes
to haue fledde, but that perceiuyng, dyuers
ponge Romapnes, threwe them selues into
the sea, and swimmyng vnto the shippes,
enforced their ennemyes to styke on lande,
and there assaulted them so aspyrlye, that the
capt;

capitaine of the Romaines, called Luctarius
mought easely take them.

Nowe to beholde, what excellent commo-
dyte is in the feate of swimmyng, sens no
kyng, be he neuer so puissaunte or perfecte
in the experyence of warres, may assure hym
selfe from the necessities, whiche fortune
soweth amonge menne that be mortall. And
sens on the helthe and sauegarde of a noble
capitayne, often tythes dependethe the weale
of a realme, nothyng shoulde be kepte frome
his knowlege, wherby his personne maye be
in every leoperdy preserved.

Amonge these exercises, it shal be conue-
niente, to learne to handle sundry weapons
specially the sword and the bataille are: whi-
che be for a noble man most conuenient.

Defence
with wea-
pons.

But the most honorable exercyse in myne
opinion, and that beseweth the estate of es-
uerie noble personne, is to ryde surely and
cleane, on a great horse and a roughe, whiche
vndoubtedly not onely importeth a maistrie
and dyede to inferiour personnes, beholding
him aboue the common course of other men
dauntynge a fierce and cruel beast, but also is
no lyttel succoure, as wel in pursuite of ene-
mies and confoundynge them, as in escaping
imminent daunger, whan wisdomie thereto
exhorteth. Also a strong and hardy horse doth
sometyme moze damage vnder his maister,
than he with all his weapon: and also serichly
forwarde the stroke, and causeth it to lyghte

Ryding &
dauntynge
of horses.

with more violence.

Bucephal.

C Bucephal, the horse of great kynge Alexander, who suffered none on his backe saue onely his master, at the battayle of Thebes beinge sore wounded, wolde not suffer the kynge to depart from hym to an other horse, but persisting in his furiose courage, wonderfully continued out the battayle, with his fete and tethe beating down and destroyng many ennemees: and many semblable manerles of his strength he shewed. Wherefore Alexander, after the horse was slayne, made in remembraunce of hym a citee in the countrey of India, and called it Bucephal, in perpetual memory of so worthy a horse, whiche in his lyfe had so wel serued hym.

C What wonderful enterprises did Julius Cesar achieve by the helpe of his horse: whiche not onely drdde ettel al other horses in fiercenesse and swift rennyng, but also was in some partes discrepante in figure frome other horses, hauinge his fore hoves lyke to the fete of a man. And in that figure Plinius writeth, that he sawe hym herued befoze the temple of Venus.

Other remembraunce there is of diuers horses, by whose monstrous power, men did exploite incredible affaires: but because the repozte of them containethe thinges impossible, and is not written by any approued author, I will not in this place reherse them. Saung that it is yet supposed, that the cat
fel,

Rel of Arundel in Suffe, was made by one
Beauuize, erle of Southampton, for a mon-
ument of his hōse called Arundel, whiche
in farre countreies hadde saued his maister
from many perils.

Arundel.

¶ Now considering the viltie in eiding
great hōses, it shalbe necessarie (as I haue
sayd) that a gentelman doo learne to ryde a
great and fierce hōse while he is tender, and
the braunces and smewes of his thighes not
fully consolidate.

¶ There is also a right good exercise, whiche
is also expedient to learne whiche is na-
med the battiynge of a hōse that is to leape
on him at every side without a rope or other
helpe, specially whiles the hōse is goyng.
And bringe therein expert, than armed at all
poyntes to assaye the same, the commoditie
whereof is so manifeste, that I neede no fur-
ther to declare it.

¶ The auncient hunting of Grekes
and Romaynes. Cap. xviii.

But now wyl I procede to wyte of ex-
ercises, whiche be not vtilly reproued
of noble auctours, if they be vsed with
opportunitie & in measure. I mene hun-
ting, hauking & daunsing. In hunting may be
an imitation of bataile, if it be suche as was
vsed amonge them of Persia: whereof Xeno-
phon, the noble and moste eloquente philo-
sopher

Sopher, maketh a delectable mention, in his booke called the doctrine of Cyrus: and also maketh another speciall booke, conteynynge the hole discipline of the auncient huntynge of the Grekes, & in that fourme beyng vled, it is a laudable exercise, of the whiche I wyl nowe somewhat write.

The huntynge of Cyrus, and other aunciente kynges of Persia (as Xenophō writeth) vled this maner Persians in al their huntynge. Fierste, where as Xenophō semeth, there was in the realme of Persia, a Citie: but one Citie, whiche as I suppose, was called Persepolis, there were the children of Persia, from their infancie, vnto the age of seuentene yeaeres, broughte vp in the lernynge of iustice and temperaunce, & also to obserue continēce in meate and drinke: in so muche, that whither so ever they wente, they toke with them for their sustenance, but onely breade and herbes, called Cressis, in latin Nasturtium: and for their drinke a dyshe to take water out of the ryuers as they passed.

Also they learned to shote, & to cast the dart of iauelyn. When they came to the age of xviij. yeres, they were lodged in the palayses, that were there ordeyned for the kynge and his nobles, whiche was as wel for the saues garde of the citee, as for the example of temperaunce, that they daylye had at their eyes gyven to them by the nobles: whiche also mought bee called Peeres, by the signification of the greke worde, wherein they were called

called Omotimi. Moreover, they were accus-
tomed to ryse alwaye in the fyrste spring of
the daye, and pacientelye to susteyne alwaye
both colde and heate: And the kyng dyd so the
exercised in goyng and also in rennyng. And
whan he intended, in his owne personne, to
hunte, whiche he dyd comenly every moneth
he tooke with hym the one halfe of the com-
pany of yonge men, that were in the palaces.
Then toke everye man with him his bowe
and quiver with arrows, his sworde or hache
of Steele, a lyttel tergat, and two dartes. The
bowe and arrows served to pursue beastes
that were swyfte: the dartes, to assaile them
and al other beastes. And whan theyr cou-
rage was chaufed, or that by fiercenesse of
the beast they were in danger, than force con-
strayned them to streke with the sworde, or
hache, and to haue good eye at the violence
assaulte of the beaste, and to defende them-
ysel neede were, with their tergates, wherein
they accounted to be the trewest and moste
certayne meditation of waeres. And to this
huntinge the kyng dydde conuerte them, and
he him selfe firste hunted suche beastes as he
hapned to encounter. And whan he had tak-
en his pleasure, he than with most diligence
dyd set other forwarde, beholdinge who hun-
ted valiantly, and refourmyng them, wher
he sawe negligente or slouthful. But as they
wente forth to this huntinge, they dyed
competently: and during their huntinge they

Gouernour.

Dined no more. For if by any occasion the
 hunting continued above one day, they took
 the sayde dinner for their supper: and the next
 daye, if they killed no game, they hunted vntill
 supper time, accounting those two dayes
 but for one. And if they took any thyng, they
 ate it at their supper with ioy and pleasure.
 If nothing were killed, they ate only bread
 and cresses, as I before reherced, and dranke
 thereto water. And if any man wyl dispense
 this diete, lette hym thinke what pleasure
 there is in breade, to him that is hungry: and
 what delectacion is in drynkynge water to
 him that is thursty. Sum tyme this maner of
 hunting may be called a necessary solace and
 pastyme, for therin is the verie imitation of
 battaile. For not onely it doth shew the cour-
 rage and strengthe, as well of the horse as
 of him that rideth, trauersynge ouer moun-
 taines and valleyes, encounterynge and ouer-
 throwynge great and myghty beastes: but also
 so it increaseth in theim bothe agilitie and
 quicknesse, also sleight and policye to fynde
 suche passages and straites, whete they maye
 preuent or intrap their enemies. Also by con-
 tinuance therin, they shal easely susteine tra-
 uaille in warres, hunger and thirst, cold and
 heate. Hitherto be the wordes of Xenophon.
 Although I haue not sette theim in lyke orde-

The hunter as he wrote them. The chiefe hunting of the valiaunt Gre-
 kinge of Persia was at the lyon, the lybarde, the tygre, the

the wyldc swyne, and the beare, and somes
 eynz the wolfe, and the hart. Theseus, whis
 che was a companion to Hercules, attayned
 the greatest parte of his renoume, for fightyng
 with the great boze, whych the Greeces
 has called Phera, that wasted and consumed
 the fieldes of a greate countrey.

¶ Meleager likewise for sleynge the greate
 boze in calidonia, which f greatnes and fier
 cenes excelled al other bozes: and had slayne
 many noble and valiaunt persones.

¶ The greate Alexander, in tymes vacante
 from battaile, delited in that maner hūtinge.

On a time he faught alone with a lion, won
 derful greate a fierce, beyng present amonge
 other strangers, the ambassadoure of Ace:
 demonia. And after longe trauaile, with in
 credible myght, he overthrewe the lyon, and
 slewe hym, wherent the sayde ambassadoure,
 wondryng meruaylously, sayd to the kynge,
 I wolde to god (noble prince) ye shuld fight
 with a lyon for some great empire. By whis
 che wordes he seemed, that he nothinge appro
 ued the valiauntnes of a prince by fightynge
 with a wild best, wherin much moze was ad
 ventured, than mought be by the victorie gotte.

¶ Al be it Pompey, Sertorius, and diuers
 other noble Romanes, whan they were in The byn
 Numidia, Libia, & such other countreys, whis tinge of
 the now be called Barbaria Merisco, in the romaine,
 vacation season frome warres, they hunted
 lions, lizards, and suchs other beastes, fierce

and sauage, to the entente thereby to exercise
them selves & their souldiours. But almighty
god be thanked, in this realme be muche cruel
beastes to be pursued. Notwithstanding, in
the huntynge of red dere and falow, mought
be a greate parte of semblable exercise, vled
by noble men, specially in forrestis, whiche be
spacious: if they wolde vse but a fewe nom-
be of boundes, onely to hartowre oz rouse
the game, by their poyngge to gyue knowe-
lege, whiche waye it fleeth, the remanaunte
of the dispozte to be in pursuyngge with laue-
lyns and other wrapps, in maner of warre.
And to theim, whiche in this huntynge dooe
shewe moste prowesse and activite, a gar-
lande, oz some other lyke token, to be gyuen
in signe of victoꝝy, and with a ioyful maner
to be broughte in the presence of him that is
chiefe in the companie, there to receiue con-
digne prayse for their good endeour.

I dilpratie not the huntynge of the foxe
with rennyng boundes, but it is not to be co-
pared to the other hunting in commoditie of
exercise. Therfoze it wold be vled in the depe
wynter, whā the o ther game is vnseasonable.

Hunting of the hare with grehousdes is a
tyght good solace for men that be studious,
oz them to whome nature hath not gyuen
personage, oz courage apte for the warres.
And also for gentlewomen, whiche feare neither
sonne nor wynde for appayrnyng their beatus-
tye. And peraduenture they shall bee therat,
lasse

lasse ydel, than they shuld be at home in their chambers.

Killing of bere with bowes or greyhounds des, serueth wel for the poe (as is the comynune sayng) and therfore it must of necessity be sometyme vled. But it containeth therin no commendable solace or exercise, in comparison to the other fourme of huntynge, yf it be diligently perceyued.

As for hawkynge, I can fynde no notable remembrance, that it was vled of auncient tyme amonge noble pynces. I calle auncient tyme, before a thousande yeres passed, sens whiche tyme, vertue and noblenes hath rather decayed than increased. For I coulde neuer knowe, who found fyrst that dispozte.

Plinius maketh mencion in his .vii. booke of the hystorie of nature, that in the partes of Grece called Thracia, men and haukes, as it were by a confederacy, toke byrdes together in this wyse. The men sprang the byrdes oute of the bushes, and the haukes sorpnge ouer them, beate them downe, so that the men mought easilye take them. And than dyd the men departe equallye the praye with the fawkons, which beyng wel serued, sethones and of a custome repaired to suche places, where beyng aloft, they perceyued me to that purpose assembled.

By whiche rehearsal of Plinius, we maye coniect, that frome Thracia came this dispozte of hawkynge. And I doubt not, but

Gouernour.

Manye other, as well as I haue seene a sem-
blable ex perience of wyldre hobies, whiche in
some countreies that be champayne, wylde soze
and lye alofte, hovering ouer larkes & qual-
les, and keepe them downe on the ground,
whyles they, whiche awayte on the pray, doe
take them. But in what wyse, or where so
euer the begynnynge of haukynge was. Sure
lye it is a right delectable solace, though there
be cometh not so much vtilitie (concerning
exercise) as there doeth of huntynge. But I
wold our falkons mought be satisfied with
the diuision of their praye, as the falkons
of Charla were, that they needed not to de-
uour the hennes of this realme, in such nu-
mber, that vnlesse it be shortly considered, and
that falkons be broughte to a more homelye
diete, it is ryght lykely, that within a short
space of yeaeres, our familiar pultry shall be
as scarce, as be now pateriche and fescante,
I speake not this in dispraise of the falkons
but of them, whiche keepeth them lyke cockes
neys. The meane gentillmenne, and honest
householders, whiche care for the gentile
entertainment of their frendes, do fynde in these
bylls that I save trouthe, and noble menne
shal ryght shortly espye it, whan they come
soderly to their frendes house, vnperceyde
for lacke of long warnynge.

¶ But nowe to retorne to my purpose. An
doubtedly hauking measurably used and for
a pastyme, gyueth to a man good appetite to
hys

his supper. And at the leasie waye withdraz
weh him frome other dalliance or dispoyses
dishonest, and so bodye and soule perchance
pernicious.

If nowe I purpoe to declare some thing,
concernynge daunsynge, wherein is merite of
maye and dyspraple, as I shall expresse it in
suche fourme, as I trust the reader shall finde
therein a rare and singular pleasure, with
also good learnynge in thynges not yet comis
monly knowen in our vulgar, whiche if it be
red of hym, that hath good oportunitie and
quiete silence, I doubt not, but he shall take
thereby suche comoditie, as he looked not to
haue founden in that exercise, whiche of the
more parte of sad men is so lyttel esteemed.

Chat al daunsyng is not to be
reproued. Cap. xix.

IAm not of that opinion, that all danstyng
generally is repougnant vnto vertue, all
though some persones excellently lerned,
specially diuine, so doe affirme it: whiche
allwaye haue in their mouthes, (whan they
come into the pulpette) the saynge of the no-
ble doctour, saint Augustin: That better is
were to delue or to go to ploughe on the sun
day, than to daunce. Which mought be spo-
ken of that kynde of daunsyng, whiche was
vled in the time of saint Augustin, whā cues
ey thing with the empire of Rome, declined
from

Gouernour,

From their perfection, and the olde maner of
dauncynge was forgotten, and none remay-
ned, but that which was laicitious, and cor-
rupted the myndes of them that daunced, and
prouoked syn, as semblably some doe at this
day. Also at that time idolatry was not clea-
ly extinct, but diuers fragmentes thereof re-
mained in euery region. And perchaunce for
leuene daunces, whiche were celebrate vnto
the paynymis false goddes, were yet contin-
ued, for as muche as the pure religion of
Christe was not in al places consolidated, and
the pastours and curates dyd wynke at suche
recreacions, fearynge if they shoulde hastilye
haue remoued it, and induced sodainlye the
seueritye of goddes lawes, they shoulde stirre
the people theraby to a general sedition, to
the imminent danger and subuersion of Chris-
tes hole religion, late sowne amonge them,
and not yet sufficiently rooted. But the wise
and discrete doctour saint Augustine, vsing
the arte of an oratour, wherein he was righte
excellente, omittynge al rigorous menace of
terroure, dissuaded theym by the mooste easi-
est way, from that maner ceremony, belon-
gynge to idolatry, preferrynge before it bodyly
occupacion, therby aggrauating the offence
to god, that was in that ceremonye, sens o-
cupacion, whiche is necessarye for mans sus-
tainance, and in due tymes vertuous, is not
withstandynge prohibyted to be vsed on the
sondayes. And yet in these wordes of this
noble

noble doctour, is not so generall dispraise to
al daunsynge as some men do suppose. And
that for two causes. First in his comparison
he preferreth not before dawning, or ioyne
ther to any vicious exercise, but annexeth it
with tilling and dygging of the earth, whiche
be labours incident to mans lyving, and
in them is conteyned nothyng that is vici
ous. Wherefore the preminence thereof aboue
daunsynge, qualifieng the offence, they be
ynge done out of due tyme, that is to saye in
an holy day, concludeth not daunsynge to be
at al tymes and in every maner vnlawful or
vicious, consyderynge that in certayne cases
of extreme necessitee, menne moughte bothe
plough and delue without doing to god any
offence. Also it shall seme to them, that seri
ously do examine the saide wordes, that ther
in, Saint augustin dothe not prohibite dan
synge so generallye, as it is taken, but onely
suche daunses, whiche (as I late sayde) were
superstitious, & contained in them a spise of
ydolatry, or els dyd with vncleane motions
or countenaunces irritate the wyndes of the
dauncers to veneral lustes. Whereby forni
cation and aduoutry were daylye increased.
Also in those daunses were enterlared dittes
of wanton loue or ribaudye, with frequente
remembrance of the most vile idoles, Venus
and Barchus, as it were that the daunce were
to their honoure and memory, whiche moste
of all, abhorred from Christis religion, saue
synge

cyng the auncient error of paganisme.

I wolde to god those names were not at this daye vsed in balades and ditties, in the courtes of princis and noble men, where many good wities be corrupted with semblable fantasies, whiche in better wyse employed, might haue bene more necessary to the publique weale and their princes honour. But nowe wyl I leaue this serious matter to diuines, to perswade or dissuade herin, accordyng to their offices. And sens in myne opinion saint Augustin, that blessed clerke reseroueth not so generallie al daunsynge, but that I maye lausfully reherse some kind thereof, whiche maye be necessary, and also commendable, takynge it for an exercise: I wil nowe procede to speake of the firste begynnyng therof, and in how great estimation it was had in diuers regions.

¶ Of the first begynnyng of daunsynge, and the olde estimation therof. Cap. xx.

There be sundry opinions of the original begynnyng of daunsynge. The poetes do saye, that whā Saturne, whiche deuoured diuers his children, and semblably would haue doone with Iupiter, when the mother of Iupiter, deuiled, that Curetes, whiche were men of armes in that countrey, shulde daunce in armour, playnge with their swoordes and shields, in such

fourth es

fortunes, as by that newe & pleasant deuise,
 they shuld assuage the melancoly of Saturne
 and in the meane time, Jupiter was conuerts
 ed into Phrygia, where Saturne also put a
 supinge hym. Wherby somblably taught the peo-
 ple there called Coribantes, to daunce in an-
 nother fourme: wherwith Saturne was effe-
 sonces demulced and appaised. Which fable coribantes
 hath a resemblance to the hystory of the bible
 in the firste booke of kynges, where it is re-
 membered, that Saule, whom god chace from
 a keper of asses, to be kyng of Jewes (who
 in stature excelled, and was aboue all other
 men by the head) desirynge frome the lawes
 and preceptes of God, was possessed of an
 yuel spryte, whiche oftentymes tormented
 and bered him: and other remedye founde he
 none, but that Dauid, which after him was
 kyng, beyng at that tyme a yonge childe,
 and playng sweetly on a harpe, with his ple-
 sant and perfect harmony, duced his mynde
 into his pristinate estate: and durynge the
 tyme that he played, the spryte cessed to bere
 hym: whiche I suppose hapned not onely of
 the efficacy of musike (al be it therin is mu-
 che power, as wel in repressynge as excityng
 naturall affectes) but also of the vertue in-
 generate in the chylde Dauid, that playde,
 whom god also had redestinate to be a great
 kyng, and a great prophete. And for the so-
 uerayne gyftes of grace and of nature, that
 he was endowd with, almyghty god sayde
 of

of hym, that he had founde a man after this
 bert and pleasure. But nowe to returne to
Proteus. Speake of daunsyng.

C Some interpretoars of poetes do imagin
 that Proteus, who is supposed to haue tur-
 ned hym selfe into figures, as some time to
 shewe hym selfe lyke a serpente, some time
 lyke a lyon, otherwhyles like water, an other
 tyme lyke the flame of fyre: signifieth to bee
 none other, but a deliuer and craftye dauns-
 ser, whiche in his daunse coulde imagine the
 inflexions of the serpent, the softe and delect-
 able flowynge of the water, the swyftnesse
 and mountyng of the fyre, the fierse rage of
 the lyon, the violence and fury of the libarde.

Which exposition is not to be discoraised,
 sens it discordesth not from reason. But one
 opinion there is, whiche I wil reherse, moze
 for the mery fantasie, that therein is cōteined,
 than for any faith or credite that is to be gi-
 uen thereto.

Gelo the
kyng of
Sicile.

Couer Syracusia (a greate and aunciente
 cite in Sicile) there reigned a cruel tyrante
 called Gelo, whiche by horrible tyrannyes
 and oppressions, brought hym selfe in to the
 hatred of al his people, whiche he percei-
 uynge, lest by mutuall communicacion, they
 shulde conspire agaynst hym anye rebellion,
 he prohibited al mē vnder terrible menaces,
 that no man or woman shoulde speake vnto
 an other, but in stede of wordes, they shoulde
 vse in their necessarye affaires, countenauns

tes, tokens, and mourninges, with their teete,
handed, and eien, whiche for necessitye firste
used, at the laste grew to a perfecte and de-
lectable daunsynge. And Gelo, not with-
standynge his folyshe curiositie, at the laste
was slayne of his people moste miserablie.
But although this history were true, yet
was not daunsynge at this tyme firste begone
for Oipheus and Mules, the moste aunciet
of poetes; and also Homere, whiche were
long afore Gelo, dur make mention of daun-
synge. And in Delus, whiche was the moste
auncient temple of Apollo, no solemnitie was
done without daunsynge.

¶ Incom Indie, whete the people honoureth
the son, they assemble together, and whan the
sonne by the appereth, stoned all in a haunte
they salute him, supposing that for as muche
as he moueth without sensible nosse, it pleas-
eth hym best to be likewise saluted; that is
to saye with a pleasante motion and science.

¶ The interpretours of Plato doe thinke,
that the wonderful and不可prehensible or-
der of the celestiall bodies, I meane sterres
and planettes, and their motions, harmonys
cal, gaue to them, that intently, and by the
deperche of reason beholde their courses,
in the sundrye diuersities of nombere tyme,
a forme of mutaciō of a semblable motion
whiche they called daunsynge. Wherefore the
more nere they approached to that temperance,
and subtile modulation, of the sayde supe-

etour bodies, the moze perfecte and commenda-
ble is their daunsyng: whiche is most lyke
to the trouthe of anye opinion that I haue
hitherto founden.

Other tables there be, whiche I omitt for
this present tyme: And now I will expresse,
in what estimation daunsyng was hadde in
the auncient tyme, and also sundry fourmes
of daunsyng, not al, but such as had in them
a semblance of vertue or kunnyng.

Arch a fe-
deris

¶ When the arke of god (wherein was put
the tables of the commandementes, the per-
wherewith Moyses deuised the red sea, and
dyd the miracles in the presence of Pharaos,
kyng of Egypte: also a parte of manna,
wherewith the chylzen of Israel were fedde
fourty yeres in deserte) was recouered of the
Philistines, broughte vnto the cite of Gath.

King Da-
uid daun-
syng.

¶ When the holpe kyng Dauid, weatyng on him
a linnen surpysse, daunced before the carde
of the arke, folowynghim a gret number of instru-
mentis of musike: wherat his wyfe Michol,
the daughter of kyng Saul, was darred and
scorned hym, wherewith) as holpe scripture
sayth) almightie god was muche displeased.
¶ And Dauid not cessyng, daunced to yowselfe
through the cite, in that manour honoring
that solemne feast, whiche amonge the iewes
was one of the chiefe and principall, wher-
with god was more pleased, than with al
the other obseruaunces that then were done
vnto hym at that tyme.

If I wil not trouble the readers with thein
numerable ceremonies of the gētiles, whych
were comprehended in dauncynges, sens they
ought to be noumbyed among supersticions.
But I wyl declare, howe wise men and val-
liante capitaines imbraced dauncyng for a
soueraigne and profitable exercise.

Alcurgus, that gaue fyrste lawes to the
Athenyones (a people in Grece) ordeyned
that the children there shoulde be taughte as
diligently to daunce in armure, as to fyght.
And that in tyme of warres they shuld meete
them in battaile agayne their enemies, in
fourme and maner of dauncyng.

Semblably, the olde inhabitauntes of
Ethiopia, at the beginninge of their battayles,
and when the trumpettes and other instru-
mentes souned, they daunced and in steede of a
quiver, they haue their dartes set about their
heades, like to rays or beames of the sonne,
wherwith they beleue, that they put their ene-
mies in feare.

Also it was not lesul for any of the, to cast
any dart at his enemye but dauncing. And not
only this rude people esteemed so much daunc-
yng, but also the most noble of the greckes,
whiche for their excellentie in prowesse and
wisedom, were called halfe goddis, as Achil-
les, and his son Pyrrhus, and diuers other.
Wherefore Homere, among the high beneficia-
les that god giveth to man, reciteth dauncing.
For he sayeth in the firste booke of Iliados,

God graunteth to some ma prowesse martial
To another dancing, with song harmonical.

I Suppose ye, that the Romaynes, whiche
in grauitie of maners passed the Greeks,
had not great pleasure in dauncyng. Did not
Romulus, the fyrst kyng of Romaines, and
builder of the cite of Rome, ordeine certain
priestes and ministers to the god Mars,
whom he aduanted to be his father: whi
che priestes, for as muche as certayne tymes,
they daunced aboute the cite with tergates
that they ymagined to fal from heuen, were
called in latin salii, whiche into englyshe
may be translated dancers, who continued so
long tyme in reuerence among the Romaines
that vnto the tyme that they were christened
the noble menne and princes children there
dysyng muche diligence and suite, coulted to
be of the college of the sayd dancers.

Moreouer, the emperours, this way most
noble, delited in dauncyng, perceiuyng therin
to be a perfecte measure, whiche maye be cal
led modulation: wherein some dauncers of
olde tyme so wonderfully excelled, that they
wolde plainely expresse in dauncyng, with
out anye wordes, or dyne, hyndones, with the
hole circumstaunce of affaires in them con
teyned, whereof I shall reherse two merua
lous experience.

In Rome, in the tyme of Nero, there was
a philosopher called Demetrius, whiche was
of

of that sect, that for as muche as they abandoned all shewes and actes, they were called Cinici, in englyshe doggish. This Demetrius often reproving dauncing, wold say, that there was nothinge therein of anye importaunce, and that it was none other, but a counterfaytinge with the feete and handes, of the armonye that was shewed befoze in the rebecke, thalme & other instrumente, and that the motions were but vayne and separate from all vnderstanding, and of no purpose or efficacie. Wherof hearing a famous dauncer, and one as it seemed that was not without good learninge: and had in remembrance many histories, he came to Demetrius, and sayde vnto hym: Syr I humblye desyre you, refuse not to do me that honestie with your presence, in beholding me dance, which ye shal se me do without sounde of any instrument. And than if it shal seme to you worthy dispraise, vnterlye thanke and confound my science. Wherunto Demetrius graunted. The yong man daunced the aduoutry of Mars and Venus, and therein exprested how Vulcan, husband to Venus, therof beinge aduertised by the sonne, layde snarres for his wyfe and Mars: also howe they were wounden and tyed in Vulkans net: moreover, howe all the goddes came to the spectacle, finally howe Venus all ashamed and blusshinge, fearefully despyed hir loue Mars to deliuer hir from that peril, and she

beside contained in the fable: whiche he did
with so subtile and crafty gesture, with such
a plaine declaracion of euery acte in the mas-
ter (whiche of al thing is most difficile) with
such a grace and brauetye, also with a wit so
wonderful and pleasante, that Demetrius,
as it seemed, therat reioysing and deliying,
cryed with a loud voice: O man I doo not
only se, but also here what thou doest: And
it seemeth also to me, that with the handes
thou speakest. Which sayng was confirmed
by al them that were at that tyme present.

¶ The same pong wan longe and daunted
on a tyme before the emperour Nero, when
there was also present a straunge king, which
vnderstode none other language but of his
owne countreie: yet notwithstanding, the
man daunted so apelye and plainely, as by
custome was, that the straunge kyng, als
thoughe he perceiued not what he sayde, vnder-
stode euery deale of the matter. And whā
he hadde taken his leaue of the emperoure to
departe, the emperoure offered to geue him
anye thyng that he thoughte moughte be to
his commoditie, yf he maye (sayde the kyng)
bounteously rewarde me, yf ye lende me the
pong mā that daunted before your maiesty.
Nero wondring, and requiring of him, whē
he so importunately despyed the daunter, of
what commoditie the daunter moughte bee
vnto hym. Syr, sayed the kyng, I haue dis-
uers confins & neighbours, that be of sundry
lan;

languages & maners, wherof I haue often tymes neede of many interpretours. Wherfore if I had this man with me, and woulde haue any thyng to do with my neyghbours, he woulde so with his faction & gesture expresse euery thyng to me, and teache them to do the same, that from henceforth I shuld not haue neede of any interpretour.

¶ Also the auncient philosophers commended dauncyng: in so muche, as Socrates, the wisest of all the greeces in his tyme, and frome whome all the sectes of philosophers, as from a fountayne were deriued, was not ashamed to accownte dauncyng amonge the serious disciplines for the commendable beuetye, for the apte and proportionate meupnge, and for the crafty disposicio and fashioninge of the bodye.

¶ It is to be considered, that in the said ancient time, there were diuers maners of dauncyng, whiche varied in the names, lyke wyle as they dydde in tunes of the instrumente, as seemblably, we haue at this daye. But those names, some were generall, some were speciall, the generall names were gyuen of the vniuersal foureine of dauncyng, wherby was represented the qualities or condicions of sundry estates: as the maiestie of prynces was shewed in that daunce, whiche was named Eumelia, and belöged to tragedies: dissolute motions, and wanton countenaunces, in that which was called cordax, and pertained to

J.iii.

comes

comedies: wherein men of base hauiour only
daunted. And the fourme of battaile and
fightsynge in armure, was expresse in those
daunces, whiche were called Enaplie. Also
there was a bynde of daunsynge called Hors
mus, of al the other moke lyke to that, whiche
is at this tyme vsed, wherein daused yong
menne and maydens: the manne expresse
in his motion and countenance strengthe and
courage, apt for the warres: the maiden mos
deration and chastitee, whiche repes
sented a pleasaunte coniunction of chastitee
and temperance.

In kinde of these we haue nowe base dan
ces, bargenettes, paupons, turgions, and
roundes. And as for the speciall names, they
were taken as they be now, either of the na
mes of the fyrste inuentours: or of the meas
ure and nouthre that they doe containe: or
of the fyrste wordes of the dittye, whiche the
song comprehendeth, whereof the daunce was
made. In euery of the sayde daunces, there
was a continuall of meynge the foote and
body, expresse some pleasant or profitable
affaires or motions of the mynde.

Here a manne may beholde, what crafte
was in the ancient tyme in daunsynge, whiche
at this daye no man can imagine or conceiue.
But if manne wolde nowe applye the fyrste
parte of their yowthe, that is to saye from se
uen yeres to twentye, effectually in the scien
ces librell, and knowlege of histories, they
shulde

shulde requite the ancient fourme as wel of daunsynge, as of other exercises. Wherof they mought take not onely pleasure, but also so profite and commoditee.

Wherfoze in the good order of daunsynge, a man and woman daunce togethether, Cap. xxi.

It is diligently to be noted, that the company of man and woman in daunsynge, they bothe obseruynge one. rounde and rime in their meynge, was not begonne without a speciall consideration, as wel for the necessarye coniunction of those two persons, as for the imitation of sundry vertues: whiche be by them receyued.

And for as muche as by the ioyninge of a man and a woman in daunsing may be signified matrimony, I could in declaring the dignitee & commoditee of that sacrament, make entiere volumes, if it were not so commonly knowen to all men, that almoste euery freer limptour carlieth it written in his bosome.

Wherfoze lesse in expelynge a styng to frequent and comune, my booke shulde be as fastidious or fulsome to the readers, as suche marchante preachers be nowe to their customers. I wyl recurrently take my leaue of diuynge, And for my parte, I wyl endeouere my selfe, to assemble out of the booke of ancient poetes, and philosophers, mater as wel

apte to my purpose, as also newe; or at the
lesse wile infrequent or seldom hard of them
that haue not reade verpe manye outoys in
greke and latin.

¶ But now to my purpose. In euery daunce
of a moſte aunciente custome, there daunſeth
together a man and a womā, holdinge the o:
ther by the hande or the arme, which betokes
with concord. Howe it behoueth the daunſ
ers, and also the beholders of the, to knowe
all qualities incident to a man, and also all
qualities to a womā likewise appertaining.

mannes
qualities.

¶ A man in his naturall perfection is fireſe,
haedy, ſtronge in opinion, couetouſe of glou
ry, deſirous of knowlege, appetityng by ges
neracion to luyng forth his ſemblable.

The good nature of a womā is to be myld,
timorous, tractable, beninge, of ſure remem
brance, i ſhamfaſt. Diuers other qualities of
eche of them mought be found out, but theſe
be moſt apparant, and for this time ſuffiſe.

¶ Wherefore when we behold a man and a
woman daunſynge together, let vs ſuppoſe
there to be a concord of all the ſayde qualiti
es, beyng ioyned togyther, as I haue ſette
them in order. And the meynge of the man
wold be moze behemint, of the woman moze
delicate, and with leſſe aduancynge of the
body, ſignifyng the courage and ſtrengthe
that ought to be in a man, i the pleaſant ſoye
neſſe that ſhuld be in a woman. And in this
woyle fierſeneſſe, ioyned with mildeneſſe, ma
keth

heth Hauertie: hardinesse with Timorotie, maketh Magnanimitie, that is to say valiant courage wilful opinion and Tractablitie: whiche is to be thowt per swaded and meued) maketh Constance, a vertu: Couetise of glozie, adozned with benignitie, causeth honour: Desire of knowlege, with sure remembrance, procureth Sapience: Shamesfastnes ioynd to appetite of generaciō, maketh Continence: which is a meane betwene Chastite, and inordinate lust. These qualitees, in this wyse beyng knyt together, and signified in the personages of man and woman daunsyng, do expresse or sette out the figure of very nobilitie: which in the hygher estate it is conteyned, the moze excellent is the vertue in estimation.

Howe daunsyng may be an introduction vnto the fyrst moral vertue called prudence. Cap. xii.

AS I haue al redy affirmed, the principalle cause of this my lytell enterpryse, is to declare an Induction of meane, how childre of gentill nature or disposicion may be trained into the waye of vertue with a pleasant facilitie: And for as muche as it is very expedient, that there bee mixt with study, some honest and moderate disports, or at least waye recreation, to rescomfozte and quicken the vital spirites, lest they

they long trauaillynge or beyng muche occup-
pyed in contemplacion or remembraunce of
thynges graue and serious, mought happen
to be fatigate, or perchaunce oppressed. And
therfoze Cully, who bryneth founde ever a nye
tyme vacant frome skodre, permitte th in his
fyrst booke of officers, that men maye vse playe
and disporte: yet notwithstandinge in suche
wyse as they doe vse sleepe and other maner
of quiete, whan they haue sufficiently dispos-
sed earnest matters of weighty importance.
¶ Some bycause there is no pastyme to be
compared to that, wherein maye be founden
bothe recreation and meditation of vertue:
I haue amonge all honest pastymes, wherein
is exercise of the bodye, noted daunsynge to
be of an excellent vtilitie, comprehendynge in
it wonderful figures (whyche the grekes doe
call Idea) of vertues and noble qualitees,
and specially of the comodious vertue called
prudence, whome Cullye desyneth to be the
knowlege of thynges, whyche ought to be
desired and folowed: and also of them, whi-
che ought to be fled from or eschewed. And
it is named of Aristotle, the mother of ver-
ties, of other Philosophers it is called the
capitayne or maistresse of vertues, of some
the house wyfe, for as muche as by her dili-
gence she dothe inuestigate and prepare plas-
ces apt and convenient, where other vertues
shall execute their powers or offices. Wher-
foze as Salomon saith, Like as in water be
threwed

ci. of. li. i
prudence.

pro. 27.

Metwed the vissages of them that beholde it, so vnto men that be prudenle, the secretes of mens hartes be openly discouered. This vertue beyng so commodious to man, and as it were the porche of the noble palayce of mans Reason, whereby al other vertues may entre, it semeth to me ryght expedient, that as sone as oportunitie maye be founden, a childe or yonge man, be therto induced. And bycause that the studie of vertue is tedious for the more part to them that do floure in yong yeres, I haue deuised, how in the fourme of daunsynge nowe late vled in this realme among gentylmen, the hole description of this vertue prudence may be couiden out and wel perceyued, as well by the daunlers, as by them, whiche standynge by, wyl be diligente beholders and markers, hauing first myne instruction surely graue in the table of theire remembrance. Wherefoze all they that haue theire courage styred towards verpe honoure or perfect nobilitie, let them approche to this pastime, and either them selues prepare them to dance, or els at the leste way beholde with watchynge eien, other that can daunce truly, keepyng iuste measure and tyme. But to the vnderstanding of this instruction, they must marke wel the sundry motions and measures, which in the fourme of daunsynge is to be specially obserued.

The first meynynge in every daunce is called honoure, whiche is a reuerent inclination

or curtesy, with a long deliberaciō or pause,
and is but one motion, comprehendynge the
time of the other motions or leaping forth
of the faster. By that may be signified, that
at the beginning of al our actes, we shuld do
due honour to god, which is the roote of pru
dence, whiche honoure is compacte of these
thre thynges, feare, loue, and reuerence. And
that in the beginninge of all thynges, we
shuld auise our self, with some tract of time, be
holde & forsee the successe of our enterpryse.

celerity or
quickness
or slownes

by pause.

By the second motion, whiche is two in
numbre, may be signified celeritie and slown
esse: whiche two, al be it they seme to dis
corde in their effectes and natural properties
therefore they may be wel resembled to the
braule in dauncyng (for in our englyshe toge
we saye, men do braule, whan betwene them
is altercaciō in wordes) yet of the two spynn
geth an excellent vertue, wherunto we lacke
a name in englyshe. Wherfore I am constrain
ned to vurne a latine worde, callynge it Ma
turitie, whiche worde though it be straunge
and darke, yet by declarynge the vertue in a
fewe mo wordes, the name ones brought in
custome, shall be as easie to vnderstande as
other wordes late comen out of Italye and
Fraunce, and made deuils among vs.

maturitie

Maturitie is a meane betwene two extres
mises, wherin nothyng lacketh or exceedeth,
and is in suche a state, that it may neyther in
crease nor minyssh withoute losynge the des
uolunt

nomination of *Maturitie*. The grekes in a
prouerbe do expresse it properly in two wor-
des, whiche I can none otherwise interpret
in englyshe, but speede the slowly.

¶ Also of this word *Maturitie*, sprange a *Festina*
noble and precious sentence, recited by Sa- *lente,*
lust in the battaile against Catiline, whiche *Prisquam*
is in this maner of like, Consult before thou *incipias*
enterpryse any thing, and after thou hast ta- *consultae*
ken counsel, it is expedient to do it maturly. *Maturum*

¶ *Maturum* in latin may be interpreted ripe
or redy, as fruite whan it is ripe, it is at the
bery point to be gathered and eaten. And e-
uery other thyng, whan it is redy, it is at the
instant after to be occupied. Therefore that
worde *maturitie*, is translated to the actes of
man, that whan they be done with suche ma-
deracion, that nothyng in the doyng may be
scene superfluous or indigent, we may saye
that they be maturely doone: receyvinge the
wordes ripe and redy, to fruite and other thin-
ges separate from affaires, as we haue now
in place. And this do I now remembre for
the necessary augmentation of oure langage.

¶ In the excellent and most noble emperour
Octavianus Augustus, in whome reigned all
nobilitie, nothyng is moze commended, then
that he hadde frequently in his mouthe this
worde *Maturus*, do maturely. As he shoulde
haue sayde, do neither to muche ne to little,
to soone ne to late, to swifely nor slowly,
but in due tyme and measure.

¶ Nowe

Colermost.

Those I trust I have sufficiently expounded the vertue called Maturitie, whiche is the meane of the more tye betwene slowe and celeritie, commonly called speedines, and so haue I declared, what vertue may be taken of a beaule in dauncing.

The thirde and fourthe branches of prouidence. Cap. xxi.

**Signes i
dauncing**

The thirde motion called singles, is of two unities separate in patinge forwarde: by whome maye be signified prouidence and industrie, which after euery thyng maturely achieved, as is before written, maketh the ffirst pace forwarde in dauncing. But it shal be expedient to expounde, what is the thyng called prouidence, for as much as it is not knowne to euery man.

**prouidence
what it is**

Prouidence, is wherby a man not onely foreseeeth commoditie & incommodie, prosperitie and aduersitie, but also consulteth, and therewith endeuoureth as well to repell annoyauce, as to attayne and get profite and aduantage. And the difference betwene it and consideration is, that consideration only consisteth in ponderinge and examininge thynges, conceived in the mynde: Prouidence in heallyng them with counsaile and acte. Wherefore to consideration pertaineth cogitation and attente, to prouidence, prouision and executio. For like as the good husband

husbande, whan he hath sown his ground, setteth vp cloughtes or thredes, whiche some call mayles, some blanchars, or other like shewes, to feare away byrdes, whiche he fore seeth redye to deuoure and hurte his corne: also perceiuing the improfitable wedes apperynge, whiche wyl anoye his corne or herbes, forth with wedeth them clene out of his grounde, and wyl not suffer them to growe or encrease. Seimblably, it is the parte of a wyse man to foresee and prouide, that either in suche thynges, as he hath acquired by his study or diligence, or in suche affayres as he hath in hande, he be not indamaged or emperched by his aduersaries.

In like maner a gouernour of a publyke weale ought to prouyde as well by menaces as by sharpe and terrible punishmentes, that persons yuell and vnprofytable, doe not corrupte and deuoure his good subiectes.

Fynally, there is in prouidence suche an admyracion and maiestie, that not onelye it is attributed to kynges and rulers, but also to god creatour of the worlde.

Industry hath not ben so long time vsed in the englyshe tonge, as prouidence: wherefore it is the moze strange, and requirith the moze playne exposition. It is a qualitie, proceedinge of wytte and experience, by the which the a manne perceiueth quickely, inuently freshely, and counsaileth speedily: wherefore they that be called Industrious, doo mooste

craftily and depely vnderstande in all affayres, what is expedient, and by what meanes and wayes, they maye sonest exployte theim. And those thynges, in whome other men tra- uayle, a person industrious lyghtly and with facilitie spedeth, and findeth new wayes and meanes to bryng to effecte that he desyreth.

Alcibiades.

¶ Among dyuers other remembred in hystories, suche one amonge the greckes, was Alcibiades, who beyng in chyldehoode mooste amvayle of all other, and of mooste subtilty wytt, was instructed by Socrates. The sayde Alcibiades, by the charpenesse of his wytt, the doctrine of Socrates, and by his owne experyence in sondry affayres in the commune weale of the Athenyentes, became soo industrious, that were it good or euill that he enterprised, nothyng almoste escaped that he achieved not. were the thyng neuer so difficle (or as who sayeth) impenetrable: and that manye sondrye thynges, as wel for his countrey, as also agayne it, after that, he for his inordinate pryde and lechery was out of Athenes exiled:

Jul. cesar

¶ Amonge the Romans, Caius Julius Cesar, which first toke vpon him the perpetual rule and gouernaunce of the empire, is a noble example of Industrie, for in his incoparable warres, and busines almost incredible he dyd not onely extrogeat most excellent pollicies and deuyces, to banquish or subdewe his ennemyes, but also prosecuted them with
suche

suche celeritye and effecte, that dyuers and many tymes he was in the campe of his enemies, or at the gates of their townes, or fortresses, whan they supposed, that he & his hoste had ben two dayes journey from thence leauyng to theym no tyme or leysure, to consult or prepare again him sufficient respytce. And ouer that, this qualite, Industry, so reigned in hym, that he him selfe wold ministrate to his secretaries at one tyme & instante, the contentes of thre sondrye epistles or letters. Alsoo it is a thyng wonderful to remembre, that he beyng a prynce of the most aunciente and noble house of the Romaynes, and fro the tyme that he came to mannes astate, almost continually in warres, also of glorie insatiable, of courage inuincible, could in affaires of suche importaunce and difficultee, or (whyche is muche moze to bee meruayled at nowe) wolde soo exactlye wyrite the historie of his owne actes and gestes: that for the nature & inimitable eloquence, in expressing the counsailes, deuises couencions, progressions, interprises, exploitures, fourmes, and facions of imbataillynge, he seemeth to put all other wyriters of lyke matters to silence.

¶ Here is the perfecte paterne of Industry whiche I trust shal suffice to make the propre signification therof, to be vnderstande of the reders. And consequently to encense them to appoche to the true practising therof.

¶ Soo is the sengles declared in these two

¶.ii.

quas

qualities. Prouidence and Industry, which
seriously noted, and often remembred of the
dañlers and beholders, shal acquire to them
no lesse fruite and commoditie, yf there be in
their myndes any good and laudable matter
for vertue to worke in.

¶ Of the fyfte brānche called circumspec-
tion, shewed in reppynse. Ca. xxiii.

Reppynse
in dañlig

Commonly nexte after syngles in dañ-
lyng is a reppynse, whiche is one mo-
uynge onely, puttynge backe the righte
fote to his felowe: And that may be wel cal-
led circumspection, whiche signifieth as much,
as beholding on euery part, what is wel and
sufficient, what lacketh, how, & from whens
it maye be prouided: Also what hath caused
profyete or damage in the tyme passed, what
is the estate of the tyme presente, what ad-
uantage or perill may succede, or is immin-
ent. And because in it is cōteined a delibera-
tion in hauing regard to that that foloweth,
and is also of affinitye with prouidence and
industry, I make him in the fouerne of a res-
treat. In this mocion a mā may, as it were
on a mountayne or place of especial, beholde
on euery syde farre of measurynge and este-
myng euery thyng, and either purswe it, yf
it be commendable, or eschewe it, if it be noy-
full. This qualite (like as prouidence and
industry be) is a brānche of Prouidence, which
Some

Some call the princesse of vertues : and it is not only expedient, but also needeful to every estate and degree of menne, that doo continue in the lyfe called actiue.

In the Iliados of Homere, the noble duke Nestor, a man of meruailous eloquence & long experyence, as he hath lyued thre mynys lyues, as he there auanteth, in the counsaile that he gaue to Agamemnon, to reconcile to hym Achilles, the moste stronge and balliant manne of all the greekes, he perswaded Agamemnon specially to be circumspecte, declaring, howe that the private contencion betwene them, shuld replemish the host of the Greekes with muche dolour : wherat kynge Priamus and his children shuld laugh, and the residue of the Troynes in their myndes shuld reioyse and take courage.

Among the Romayns Quintus Fabius for this qualite is soueraynly extolled amonge hystorians : and for that cause he is oftentimes called of them Fabius cunctator, that is to say, the tarier or delaier. For in the warres betwene the Romaynes and Annibal, he knowynge all costes of the countray, continually kepte him and his host on mountaynes and hyghe places, within a small distaunce of Hanniballes armie: so that nether he wold flee from his enemies, nor yet ioyne with them battaile. By whiche wonderful polici, he caused Annibal so to trauaile, that some tyme for lacke of vittayle, and for we-

Governour.

ty nelle, great multitudes of his hostes perpt
Med. Also he often tymes awayed theym in
dangerous places, vntredy, and than charymiz
Med with theym, as longe as he was sure to
haue of them aduantage, & after he repayed
to the hygh places adioynng, vsyng his ac
customed maner to beholde the passage of
Anniballe. And by this meanes, this moste
circumspecte chaptayn Fabius, wonderfully
imfebled the power of the sayde Anniballe,
whiche is no lesse esteemed in prayse, than the
subduyng of Cartage by the valiantte Scis
pio. For if Fabius had not so fatigate Ans
niball and his hoste, he had shortly subuerted
the citee of Rome, and than coulde not Scis
pio haue bene able to achueue that enterpryse.

king hery **¶** What more cleue mirroz or spectacle can
the seuerth we desyre of circumspection, than kyng Hen
ry the Seuen the, of mooste noble memory,
father vnto our mooste dreadde soueraygne
lord, whose worthye renome, lyke the sonne in
the myddes of his sphere, shyneth euer shal
shyne in mens remembrance: what incompara
ble circumspection was in hym alway foun
den, that not withstandyng his long absence
out of this realme, the disturbace of the same
by sondry seditions among the Nobilitie, Ci
uile warres and battailes, wherein infinite
people were slayne, besyde charymyllthes and
slaughters in the pryuate contentions and fa
ctions of dyuers gentilmen, the lawes layde
in water (as is the proverbe) affection & auar
rice,

eye, subduyng iustice and equite: yet by his most excellent wit, he in fewe yerres, not only broughte this realme in good order, and vnder due obedience, reuiued the lawes, auanced Justice, refurnished his dominions, and repayred his manours, but alsoo with suche circumspection treated with other princes and realmes, of leages, of alliance, and amities, that during the more parte of his reigne he was little or nothyng inquieted withoute warre hostile or martial businesse. And yet all other princes eyther feared hym, or had hym in a fatherly reuerence. Whiche prayse with the honour thereunto due, as inheritance descendeth by ryght vnto his mooste noble sonne, our moost dere soueraigne lord that now presentely reygneth. For as Cully saith. The best inheritance, that the fathers leaue to their chyldre, excellung al other patrimonys, is the glory or prayse of vertue & noble actis: and of such faire inheritance his highnes may compare with anye prince that euer reigned, whiche he dayly augmenteth, addyng thereto other sondry vertues, whiche I forasbeare now to reherse, to the intent I wyl exclude al suspiciō of flattery, sens, I my selfe in this worke do specially repprue it. But that whiche is presently knowen, and is in experience nedeth no monument. And vnto so excellent a prince there shal not lacke hereafter condigne writers to register his actes, with elegant style in perpetual remembrance.

Of the fyrte seventh and eyght brans
ches of prudence. Cap. xxv.

A Double in daunsyng is compacte of
the nombze of thye, wher by may bee
noted these thye branches of pruden
ce, election, experience, and modestie: by them
the sayde vertue of prudence is made com
plete, and is in hir perfection, Election is of
an excellent power and auctorites, and hathe
suche a maiestee, that she wyl not be appor
shed vnto of euery man. For some there be
to whome she denieth hir presence, as chyld
dzen, naturall fooles, men beyng frantye,
or subdued with affectes, alsoo they that bee
subiectes to flatterers and proude men. In
these persones reason lacketh libertee, wher
she shulde prepare their entrie vnto election.
This election, whiche is part, and as it were
a membe of prudence, is best described by
Opportunyte, whiche is the pryncipall partie
of counsaile, and is compacte of these thyn
ges folowynge.

The importance of the thyng consulted
The facultee and power of hym that consuls
teih. The time whan, The fourme how, The
substance wherwith to do it. The disposition
and vllages of the countreys, For whom and
agayn whome it ought to be done. All these
thynges prepened and gathered togyther
seriouly, and after a due examination, es
uery of them iustly pondered in the balace of
reson,

reason, immediately commeth the auctorite of election, who taketh on her to appoynte, what is to be effectually folowed or pursued receyvinge the residue. And than ought experience to be at hand, to whom is committed execution the actuall execution. For without her, Execution is frustrate, and all inuencion of manition, is but a fantasy. And therfore who aduisedly beholderth the estate of mans lyfe, shal wel perceyue, that all that euer was spoken of wyntien, was to be executed, and to that intent was speche speciallye given to man, wher in he is moste discrepant, from brute beastes in declarynge by theim what is good, what vicious, what is profitable, what improfitable, whiche by clerenesse of wyte do excell in knowledge to these that be of a more inferior capacite. And what vtilite shoulde be acquired by suche declaration, if it shuld not be experienced with diligence.

The philosopher Socrates had not bene commended of Apollo the wisest man of all Grecia, yf he had not dayly practised the vertues, whych he in his lessons commended. Socrates

Julius Cesar, the first emperor, although there were in hym muche hidde learnyng, in so muche as he first founde the order of our kalendre, with the cikle and bysert, called the leape yere: yet is he not so muche honoured for his learnyng, as he is for his diligence, wherwith he employed or brought to conclusion those countaynes, whiche as wel by his

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excellent learning and wylsome, as by the aduise of other experte counsaylours were besfore treated, and (as I mought say) verilate.
¶ Who wil not repute it a thyng vayne and scoynful, and mozelike to a maiegame, than a matter serious or commendable, to be holde a personage whiche in speche or wytyng, expresteth nothyng but vertuous maners, sage and discrete counsayles and holpe aduertisementes: to be resolved into all bysses, folowynge in his actes nothyng that he hym selfe in his wordes approueth and teacheth to other.

¶ Who shal any thing esteeme their wylsome which with great studies fynd out remedies and prouisions necessary for thynges disordred or abused, where they them selves may execute it, they leaue it vntouched, whereby their deuises, with the fowne that prouoked them, be vanished and come to nothing.

¶ Seblably it is to be thought in al other doctryne. Wherfore as it seemed, it was not without consyderacion assyrmied by Cully, that the knowlage and contemplacion of Natures operations were lame and in a maner imperfecte, if there folowed none actual experience. Of this shal bee moze spoken in the later ende of this worke.

modestye **¶** Herewith wolde bee consoynded or rather myxte with it, the vertue called Modestye: whiche by Cullie is desynged to be the knowlage of oportunitie of thynges to be done or
spoken

spoken, in appoyntyng and settinge them in
time or place to them conuenient and propre.
Wherefore it seemeth, to be muche like to that
which men commonly cal Discretion, Al be it
Discretio in latyne signifieth Separacion: discretion
wherin it is moze like to Election. But as it
is commonly vsed, it is not onely like to mo-
destye, but it is the selfe Modestye. For he
that forbeareth to speake, although he can do
it bothe wysely and eloquentely, bycause nei-
ther in the tyme nor in the heere, he fyndeth
oportunitie, so that no fruite may succede of
his speche, he therefore is vulgarely called a
discrete person.

¶ Semblably they name him discrete, that
punisheth an offendour lesse than his mery Discrete.
tes do require, hauing regard to the weakes-
nes of his persone, or to the aptenesse of his
amendment.

¶ So do they in the vertue called Liberalite liberalite
tye, where in geyng, is had consideration,
as wel of the condition, and necessitee of the
persone that receyueth, as of the benefytte
that commeth of the gyfte receyued. In eu-
ery of these thynges and theyr semblable, is
Modestye: Whiche worde nor beyng knowne
wen in the englyshe tongue, ne of al theyn, Modestye
whiche vnderstode latyne, excepte they had
red good auctours, they impropely named
this vertue Discretion. And now some men
do as muche abuse the word modestye, as the
other dyd discretion. For if a man haue a sad
coun

abused.

**Manſue-
tude.**

countenance at all tymes, & yet not being me-
ued with wrath, but paciēt, & of moſt gentil-
nes, thei which wold be ſene to be learned, wil
ſay that the man is of a great modeſty, where
they ſhuld rather ſay, that he were of a great
manſuetude: whiche terme beyng ſemblable
before this tyme vnknewen in oure tongue,
may be by the ſuffraunce of wiſe men, nowe
receiued by cuſtome, wherby the terme ſhalbe
made familiare. That like as the Romaines
traſclayed the wiſedome of Grecia into their
citie, we may, if we liſte, bring the learninges
and wiſedomes of the both into this realme
of England, by the tranſlation of their wor-
kes, ſens lyke enterpriſe hath bene taken by
french me, Italians, and Germains, to our
no lyttle reproche for our negligence & ſlouth.
¶ And thus I conclude the laſt part of dan-
ſyng, whiche diligently beholden, ſhal appere
to be as wel a neceſſary ſtudy, as a noble and
vertuouſe paſtime, vſed and continued in ſu-
the fourme as I hitherto haue declared.

¶ Of other exerciſes, which yf they be mo-
derately vſed, be to every ſtate of
man expediente. Cap. xxvi.

I haue ſhewed howe hunting and daſſing
may be in the numbꝛe of commẽdable ex-
erciſe, and paſtymes, not repugnaunte to
vertue. And vndoubted, it were much better
to be occupied in honeſt recreation, thã to do
nothing

nothyng. For it is sayde of a noble antour,
In doyng nothyng, men learne to do yuell,
And Ouidius the poet saith.

If thou flee ydelnes, Cupide hath no might.
His bow lieth broken, his fire hath no lycht.

It is not onely called idelnes, wherin the **Idelnes.**
body or mynde cesselth from labour, but spe-
cially ydelnes is an omission of al honest ex-
ercise: the other may be better called a vaca-
tion from serious busines, which was some-
tyme embraced of wise men and vertuous.

It is written to the prayse of Xerxes king
of Persia, that in tyme vacant from the af- **King Xer-**
fayres of his realme, he with his owne han- **res.**
des, had planted innumerable trees, whiche
longe or he dyed, brought forth the abundance
of fruite, and for the craftye and dylettable
ordze in the settynge of them, it was to all
men, beholding the princis industry, exceding
meruapulous.

But who abhorreth not the hystorie of **Sardana**
Sardanapalus, kynge of the same realme? **palus.**
whiche haupnge in detestation al princely af-
fayres, and leaupng all company of men, en-
closed hym selfe in a chamber, with a greate
multitude of concubynes: and for that he
wolde seme to be som tyme occupied, or elles
that wanton pleasures and quietnesse became
to hym tedious, he was found by one of his
lordes in a womans attyre spynning in a dis-
taffe among persons defamed, which knowe
abode,

abode, was to the people so odious, that finally by them he was bourned, with all the place, wherto he fledde for his refuge.

**Playnge
at dyse.**

¶ And I suppose there is not a more playne fygure of ydelnesse, than playing at dyse. For besydes, that therin is noo manner of exercise, of the body or mynde, they whiche play there at, must seeme to haue no porcion of wytte or kunning, yf they wyl be called fayre playes, or in some compaigne auoyde the stabbe of a dagger, yf they be taken with any crafty conuiciaunce. And because alway wisdom is therin suspected, there is seldom any playng at dyse, but therat is vehement chydng and brawlyng, horrible othes, cruel, and somtyme mortall menaces. I omit strokes, whiche nowe and than doo happen, often tymes betwene brotherne and moste dere frendes, if fortune byng alway to one man puel changes, whiche maketh the playe of the othe suspected. ¶ Why shuld that be called a play whiche is compacte of malice and robbery? Undoubtedly they that wryte of the fyrste inuentions of thynges, haue good cause to suppose Lucifer, prince of dyuelles to be the fyrste inuentour of dyse playng, and hel the place where it was founden, although some do wryte, that it was fyrst inuented by Aetias For what better allectiue coulde Lucifer deuyse to allure and byng men pleasurably into damnable seruitude, than to purpose to cheere them in forme of a play, his principal trespase wher

**The trespase
of Lucifer.**

wherin the moze parte of synne is contained
and al goodnes and vertue confounded?

YThe first occasion to play is tediousnes
of vertuous occupacyon: Immediatelye suc-
cedeth couarytynge of an other mans goodes,
whiche they calle playynge: therto is annexed
auarice and straite keepynge, whiche they calle
wynnyng soone after commeth swearynge,
in rentynge the membres of god, whiche they
name noblenesse (for they wyl saye, he that
sweareth depe, sweareth lyke a lord) than
foloweth fury or rage, whiche they call cou-
rage, among them cometh inordinace watche,
whiche they name paynfulnes: he byyngeth in
gluttony, and that is good feloweshyp: and
after commeth slepe superfluous, called as
among them naturall rest: and he sometyme
byyngeth in lechery: whiche is nowme named
dalyaunce. The name of this treasury is verily
idelines: the doore wherof is left wyde opene
to dyse players: if they hap to byng in their
company, lernynge, vertuous busines, libera-
ltee, patience, chariter, temperance, good diet
or chamefastnes, they muste leaue them with-
out the gates. For euyl custome, whiche is
the porter wyl not suffre them to enter.

Alas what pitee is it, that any christe mā
shoulde by wanton company be trapped, **Alcustome**
wyl no more say into this Treasury, but into
this lothesome dungton, where he shall lye
fetoze in chaynes of ignoraunce, and boun-
den with the stronge chayne of obstinacye,
hardo

harde to be losed but by grace?

¶ The most noble emperor Octavius Augustus, who hath amonge writers in diuers of his actes an honorable remembzance: onlpe for playng at dysse, and that but selbome: steineth in hystories a note of reproche.

**Counsay
lers.
dysars**

¶ The Lacedemonians sente an ambassade to the citie of Lhointhe, to haue with them alvance: but whan the ambassadours foud the princis and counsaillors, playng at dysse, they departed without exploieng their mesage, saynge, that they wolde not maculate the honour of the people, with suche a reasproche, to be sayce, that they had made alvance with dysars.

¶ Also to Demetrius, the kynge of Persians sent golden dysse in the rebuke of his lyrenesse.

**The estys
mation of
dysars.**

¶ Every thyng is to be esteemed after his value. But who herynge a man, whome he knoweth not, to be called a dysar, dothe not anone suppose hym to be of lyghte credence. Dissolute, bayne, and remysse, who almoste trusteth his brother, whō he knoweth a dysplater: yea amonge them selues they laugh, whan they perceiue oz here anye doctrine oz vertuose worde procede from any of their companions, thynkyng, that it becommeth not his person: muche more whan he dothe any thyng with deuotion oz wysedome.

¶ Howe many gentilmen, howe many marchantes, haue in this damnable pastyme consumed

sumed their substance, as well by their owne labours, as by their parentes, with greaue study and peineful trauayle in a longe time acqayred, and synghed their lyues in dette and penury: Howe many goodly and bolde yemenne hath it brought vnto theste, wherby they haue pzeuented the cours of nature, and dyed by the order of the lawes mysrably?

These be the frutes and reuennurs of that deuillythe merchaundyse, besyde the final rewarde, whiche is moze terryble, the repozte wherof I leaue to diuines, such as feare not to shewe their lernynge, or fylle not theyr mouthes so full with swete meates, or benesfyces, that their tonges be not let to speake trouthe: for that is thyr due tyte and office, excepte I with many other be moze disceiued.

¶ Playng at cardes and tables is some what moze tollerable, onely for as muche as therin wytte is moze vled, and lesse truste is in fortune, al be it therin is neyther laudable study nor exercise. But yemen delypnge in vertue, moughte with cardes & tables deuyse games, where in mought be much solace and also study commodious, & deuisyng a battayle, or contencion betwene vertue and vice, or other lyke pleasaunt and honeste inuencion.

¶ The chesse of all games, wherin is no bodily exercise, is mooste to be commended, for therin is ryghte sobtile engyne, wherby the witte is made moze sharp, and remembrance quickened. And it is the moze comendable & also commodious, if the players haue red the

moralization of the chesse, & whan they playe
do thinke vpon it: which booke be in english.
But they be verie scarce, bycause fewe men
doo seeke in playes for vertue or wysedome.

That shotynge in a longe bowe is principal
of al other exercises. Cap. xxvii.

Tully saith i his first booke of offices,
We be not to that intet broughte by
by nature, that we shoulde seme to be
made to playe and disporte, but rather to gra
tuite and studies of more estymacion. Where
fore it is wyrtten of Alexander, emperour of
Rome, for his grautier called Seuerus, that
in his chyldehode, and befoze he was taught
the letters of greke or latyne, he neuer exers
cysed any other playe or game, but only one,
wherin was a similitude of Justice: there
fore it was called in latin Ad Iudices which
is in englyshe to the iudges. But the fourme
therof is not expessed by the sayde auctour,
noz none other that I haue redde. Wherefore
I wyl repayre agayne to the residue of ho
nest exercise.

Exercyse
for prefer
tyng of
health,

And for as muche as Galene in his ses
conde booke of the preseruacion of helth, des
clareth to be in them these qualitees or diuer
sities, that is to saye, that some be done with
extendynge of myghte, and as it were vpon
lentely, and that is called balpauit exercyse,
Some with swyfte or hasty motion, other
with

with strengthe and celeritee, and that maye be called vehemente: The particular kindes of euery of them he descriueth, whych were to longe here to be reherled.


But in as muche as he also sayeth, that he that is of good estate in his body, oughte to knowe the power and affecte of euery exercise: but he nedeth not to practyse anye other, but that which is moderate and meane betwene euery extremitie: I wylle now briefly declare, in what exercise nowe in use is amonge vs, maye be mooste founde of that mediocritie, and maye be augmented or mynished, at the pleasure of hym that doeth exercise, withoute thereby appaynyng anye parte of delectacion or commoditie thereof procedyng.


And in myne opynion, none may be compared with shootyng in the longe bowe, and mendaciō that for sondry vilitiees, that come thereof, of shoting wherein it incomparably excelleth al other in a longe exercise. For in drawyng of a bow, easy and bowe,


congruent to his strengthe, he that shooteth, dothe moderately exercise his armes, and the other parte of his body: and yf his bowe bee bygger, he must adde to moze strengthe, wherin is no lesse valiaunte exercise than in anye other, wherof Galene writeth.

In shopyng at buttes, or broade arrowe markes, is a mediocritie of exercise of the lower parties of the bodye and legges, by goyng a lyttel distaunce a measurable pace. At

rouers of pyches, it is at his pleasure that
 shotteth, howe faste or softly he lysteth to goe
 and yet is the prayse of the shooter, neyther
 moze ne lesse, for as farre or nygh the marke
 is his arrow, whan he goeth softly, as whan
 he renneth.

Tenple.  Tenple, selledome vsed, and for a lyttel
 space, is a good exercise for yong menne, but
 it is moze violente than shottynge, by reason
 that two menne do play. Wherefore neither
 of them is at his owne libertee to measure
 the exercise. For yf the one stryke the balle
 harde, the other that intendeth to receyue
 hym, is than constrained to vse semblable
 violence, yf he wyl retourne the ball frome
 whens it came to hym. If it trespasse fast on the
 ground, and he entendeth to stoppe or yf it
 rebounde a great distaunce frome hym, and
 he wold eftsones returne it, he can not than
 kepe any measure in swiftnesse of motion.

 Some men wolde saye, that in medio
 critee, whyche I haue soo muche praysed in
 shottynge, why shoulde not boulynge, clapyng
 pynnes, and koptynge, be as muche commen
 ded? Verily as for two the laste be to be vi
 terly abiected of al noble men in lyke wyse
 foote balle, wherin is nothyng but beastlye
 fury, and extreme violence, wherof procedeth
 hurte, and consequently rancour and malice
 doe remayne with theym that be wounded,
 wherefore it is to be put in perpetual silence.

 In claiffe is employed to lyttell strengthe,

in shooptyng often tymes to muche, whereby the sinewes be to much strained, and the veins to muche wasted, wherof often tymes is sente to enfeebled, or the decreas of strengthe or agilitie in the armes, where, in shooptyng, if the shooter vse the strengthe of his bowe with in his owne tyller, he shal neuer be therewith greiued or made moze feble.

Also in shooptyng is a double vtilitee where in it excelleth al other exercyses and games incomparably. The one is that it is, and alsway hath ben, the most excellent artillery for warres, whereby this realme of Englande hath bene not onely best defended frome outward hostilitie, but alsoo in other regions a fewe englyshe archers haue bene sente to p[re]uaile against people innumerable. Also won impregnable citices, strong holdes, and kepte them in the myddes of the strengthe of theyr enemies. This is the feate, whereby englyshe menne haue ben most bradde and had in estimation with outward p[ri]ncis, as wel ennemys as allies. And the commodytie thereof hath ben approued as far as Hierusalem, as it shall appere in the lyues of Rycharde the fyrst and Edward the fyrst, kynges of Englande, who made seuerall iournels to recouer that holye citee of Hierusalem in to the possession of christen men, and achieved them honorablie, the rather by the power of this feate of shooptyng.

Decay of
archers.

The p[re]misses consydered, what cause
L.iii. of

of reproche shall the decaye of arches bee to
vs nowe liuyng: ye what irremediable da-
mage eether to vs oz theymson whose tyme
made of semblable defence shall happen: whis
the decaye, though we al redy perceiue, feare,
and lament, and for the restoruyng therof wille
not to make ordynauces, good lawes and
statutes: yet who effectually putte his hands
to contynuall execution of the same lawes
and prouisions: oz beholdyng them dayely
broken, winketh not at the offendours: But
I shall hercof moze speake in an other place,
and retourne nowe to the seconde vtlyttee,
founde in Mootynge in the longe bowe, which
is kyllynge of deere, wyld fowle, and other
game, wherein is bothe profyte and pleasure,
aboue any other artyllery.

And verely I suppose, that befoze crosse
bowes and handgunnes were broughte into
this realme, by the sleighte of our ennemies,
to the ensente to distroye the noble defence of
archerye, contynuall vse of Mootynge in the
longe bowe made the feate soo perfecte and
exacte amonge englyshemen, that they than
as surely and soone kyled suche game, whi-
che they lysted to haue, as they nowe can doe
with the crossebowe oz gunne. But this suffi-
ceth, for the declaration of Mootynge, where-
by it is sufficiently proued, that it incompa-
rably excelleth all other exercise, pastyme, oz
solace.

And hereat I conclude to wyte of exer-
cise

The first booke.

tyfe, whiche appertaineth as well to prynces, and noble menne, as to all other by their example: whiche determine to passe forth the theyr lyfes in vertue and honestie: And here after, with the assistance of god, vnto whom

I render this mine accounte, for the cause

lene that I haue of hym receyued, I

purpose to write of the principal

and (as I mought saye) the

particulare studie and

affaires of him that

by the prouidence

of God, is

called to

the

mooste difficulte cure

of a publyke

weale.

libri primi

finis.

THE SECONDE BOKE.

What thinges he that is
elected or appointed to be a
gouernor of a publike weale,
oughte to premeditate.

Capitulo. i.



In the boke procedynge I
haue (as I trust) sufficient
ly declared, as wel what is
to be called a verate & right
publike weale, as also, that
there should be thereof one
prynce & soueraygne aboue
al other gouernours. And I haue also expref
sed my conceite & opinion, touchyng not only
the studies, but also the exercyses concerning
the necessary education of noble menne and
other, called to the gouernaunce of a publike
weale, in suche fourme as by the noble exam
ple of their lyues, and the fruite thereof com
mynge, the publyke weale that shall happen
to be vnder theyr gouernance, shall not faile
to be accounted happy, and the auctoritee on
theym to be employed wel and fortunatlye.

Prepara Nowe wyl I treat of the preparacion of
tion of go suche personages, whan they fyrste receyue
uernours any great dignitee charge or gouernaunce of
the weale publyke.

Fyrste

Fyrste such persones, beyng now ad-
 ulte, that is to saye: passed their chyldehode,
 as wel in maners as in yeres, yf for their ver-
 tues and learnynge, they hadde to bee called
 to receyue any dignitee, they shoulde fyrst as-
 moue al company from them, and in a secret
 oratorye or priuy chaumber, by theym selfe as-
 semble al the powers of theyr wyttes, to re-
 membre these . vii. articles, whiche I haue
 not of myne owne head deuised, but gathe-
 red as wel out of holly scripture, as out of
 the warkes of other excellent wyters of fa-
 mous memoire, as they shal soone perceiue,
 whiche haue redde and perused good autors
 in greke and latyne

Fyrst and aboue al thyng, let theym consi-
 der, that from god onely procedeth all ho-
 nour, And that neyther noble progenye, suc-
 cession, nor election to be of suche towe, that
 by them any estate or dignitee maye be so sta-
 blished, that god beyng styed to vengeance,
 shal not shortlye resume it, and perchance
 translate it where it shal lyke hym. And for
 as muche as examples greatly do profyte in
 the stede of experyence, here shal it be necessa-
 ry, to remembre the hystorye of Saul, whom
 god hym selfe elected to be the fyrste kyng of
 Israel, that where god commanded him by
 the mouthe of Samuell the prophet, that for
 as muche as the people called Amalech, had
 resysted the chyldren of Israel, whan they
 fyrst departed from Egypte, he shulde ther
 A. v. foze

The first
 considera-
 tion of go-
 uernours

Saule &
 Amalech.

Gouernour.

Disobedi For he distroyed al the countrey, and slee men wth
ence, men and chyldren, al beastes and cattel, and
that he shoulde nothyng saue o^r kepe therof.
But Saul after that he hadde baynquished
Hamahe, and taken Agag kyng thereof pri-
soner, he haupnge on him compassion, saued
his lyfe only. Also he preserved the best oxen,
cattel, and vntures, and all other thinge that
was sayest, & of most estimation, and wolde
not consume it, accordynge as god had com-
maunded hym, sayng to Samuell, that the
people kepe it to the entent, that they wolde
make therof to almighty god a solempne sa-
crifice. But Samuel reprovyng hym sayde,
Better is Obedience, than Sacrifice, with
other wordes that folowe in the hystorie.
Fynally for that offence only, almighty god
abieted Saul, that he shulde no moze reigne
ou^{er} Israel: and caused Samuel forthewith
to enointe Dauid kyng, the yongest sonne of
a poore man of Bethleem, named Isay, whi-
che was keepng his fathers shepe.
¶ Sens for ones neglectynge the comman-
dement of god, and that neither naturall pye-
te, nor the entent to doo sacryfice, with that
whiche was saued, mought excuse the trans-
gression of goddes commandement, nor mys-
tigate his greuous displeasure: howe vigi-
lant ought a christen man, beyng in auctori-
te, howe vigilant (I saye) industrious & dili-
gent ought he to be in the administracion of
a publyke weale: dyedynge alwaye the wo^rd-
des,

des, that be spoken by eternalle cappence to them that be gouernours of publike weales, All power and vertue is gyuen of the lord, that of all other is hyghest, who shal examine your dedes, and inserche your thoughtes?

For whan ye were the mynisters of this realme, ye iudged not wpyghtely, ne obserued the lawe of Justyce, nor ye walked not accordyng to his pleasure. He shal shortly and terrible appere vnto you. For moste harde and greuous iudgemente shal be on them, that haue rule ouer other. To the pooze man mercy is graunted, but the great menne shal suffre great tuermentes. He that is lord of al excepteth no personne, ne he shal feare the greatnes of any man, for he made as wel the great as the smal, and careth for euerye of them equally. The stronger or of moze myght the personne is: the stronger payne is to hym imminente. Therfore to you gouernours be these my wordes, that ye maye learne wylsome, and fal not.

This notable sentence is not onely to bee imprinted in the hertes of gouernours, but alsoo to bee often tymes reuolued and called to remembrance.

They shal not thynke, howe muche honour they receyue, but howe muche care and burdeyne. He they shal not muche esteeme theyr reuenues and treasure, consyderynge that it is no buten or praye, but a laborious offyce and trauaile.

The two.
des of sa.
pièce to go
uernours
Sapience

The.ii.c.
sideratio;

Let

The .iii. ¶ Let them thynke, the greater dominions they haue, that thereby they susteyne the more rare and studie. And that therfore they must haue the lasse solace and pastyme, and to sensual pleasures lasse oportunitie.

The.iiii. ¶ Also whan they beholde their garmentes and other oznamentes, ryche and precious, they shall thynke, what reproche were to them to surmount in that, whiche bee other mens warkes and nat theirs, and to be vanquished of a poore subiect in sundry vertues wherof they them selues be the artificers.

The.v. ¶ They that regarde them, of whome they haue gouernance, no more than that appertayne to their owne priuate commodities, they no better esteeme them than other men doeth their hoxses and mules, to whome they employ no lasse labour and diligence, not to the benefite of the sely beastes, but to theyr owne necessities and syngular aduantage.

The.vi. ¶ The moste sure foundation of noble renowne is a man to bee of suche vertues and qualitees, as he despyeth to be openly publyshed: for it is a faynt prayse, that is gotten with feare, or by flatterers gyuen, and the same is but fume, whiche is supported with silence prouoked by menaces.

The.vii. ¶ They shall also consyder, that by theyr preeminence, they spt as it were on a pyllar on the toppe of a mountayne, where all the people do behold them, not only in their open affayres, but also in their secrete pastymes,
pyrue

pride dalyaunce, or other impropytable or wanton condicions, whyche doo alwaye imbrace that studie, wherein their maister delyteth, accordynge to the sayng of Iesus Sirach, As the Iudge of the people is, so be his ministers: And such as bee the gouernours of the cite, such be the people. Whyche sentence is confirmed by sondry histories. For Nero, Caligula, Domitian, Lucius Commodus, Marius Helioabalus, monstrous emperours, nourished about them, ribaudes and other voluptuous artificers.

¶ Maximianus, Dioclesian, Maxencius, and other persecutours of Christen men lacked not inuentours of cruell, and terrible tourmentes.

¶ Contrary wyle, reaignynge the noble Augustus, Nerva, Traiane, Hadriane, the two Antonines, and the wonderfull emperour Alexander for his graunte called Seuerus, the imperiall palayce was alwaye, replenished with eloquente oratours, delectable poetes, wise philosophers, mooste cunnynge and experte lawyers, prudent & valiant capitaines. No semblable examples shal hercof be founden, by them whiche purposely do rede histories, whom of all other I mooste delyte to bee princes and gouernours.

¶ These articles wel and substantielly grauen in a noble mans memozy, it shal also be necessary to cause them to be delectably written and sette in a table within his bed chamber,

GOUERNMENT

her, addyng to, the verses of Claudiane the noble poet, which he wrote to Honorius emperour of Rome, The verses I haue translated out of latine into englyshe not obseruing the order as they stande, but the sentence being longyng to my purpose.

A The table of gouernours to be hang
ged in their chambres.

**Claudias
nus.**

Though thy power stretcheth bothe, far and
large.

Though Ande the ryche, set at the worldes
ende.

And Wede with Traby be bothe vnder thy
charge.

And also Scres, that lilke to vs doeth sende
If fere the trouble & smal thinges the offede,

Corrupt desire thin hert hath ones embraced

Thou art in bōdage, thin honour is defaced

Thou shalt be demed thā worthy for to reign

whan of thy selfe thou wylnest the maistry.

Cuyl custome bringeth vertue in disdeigne.

Licence superfluous perswadeth much folp.

In to muche pleasure set not felicity.

If luste or anger do thy minde assaile

Subdue orcalio, & thou shalt some preuaile,

What thou maist do, delite not for to know

But rather what thing wyl become the best,

Embrace thou vertu, & kepe thy courage low,

And thynke that alway measure is a feast.

Love wel thy people, care also for the least.

And whan thou studieth for thy commodities

Maks

Make them al parteners of thy felicity,

Be not much mewed with synguler appetites
 Except it profite vnto thy subiectes al
 At thyn example the people wyl delite
 Be it vyce oz vertue with the they rise oz fall
 No lawes auayle, men tourne as doth a bal
 For where the ruler in liuyng is not stable
 Both law & counsaile is tourned into a fable.

¶ These verses of Claudiane, ful of excellent wisdomes, as I haue sayd, wolde be in a table, in such a place as a gouernoꝝ once in a daye may behold them, specially as they be expessed in latine by the sayde poete, vnto whose eloquence no translation in englishe may be equiualent. But yet werz it better to can them by herte, ye and yf they were made in the forme of a dittie, to be songen to an instrument, O what a swete song wolde it be in the eares of wise men: For a meane musician mought therof make a ryght pleasaunte harmonie, where almost euey note shoulde expresse a counsaile vertuous oz necessary.

¶ We haue now heard what pꝛemeditations be expedient befoze that a man take on hym the gotternaunce of a publike weale. These notable pꝛemeditations and remembrances shuld be in his mynde, which is in autoritee often tymes renewed. Than shall he pꝛoceede further in furnisshyng his person, with honourable maners and qualitees, whereof
 verp

very nobilitie is compacte, whereby all other
shal be induced to honour, loue, and feare
him, whyche thynges chiefly do cause per-
fect obedience.

¶ Now of these maners wyl I wyte in
order, as in my conceite they be (as it were)
natur ally disposed and sette in a noble man
and sonest in him noted or espied.

¶ The expolition of Maiestee. Capit. ii.

In a gouernour or man, haupnge in
the publyke weale some greate author-
ityte, the fountaine of all excellent man-
ners, is Maiestee, whyche is the holle
propozition and fygure of noble astate, and
is properly a beate or cunlines in his coun-
tenante, langage and gesture, apte to his di-
gnitee, and accomodate to tyme, place, and
company, whiche lyke as the sonne dothe his
beames, so dothe it cast on the beholders and
herers a pleasant and terrible reuerence. In
so muche as the wordes or countenances of
a noble man, shulde be in the stede of a firme
and stable lawe to his inferiours, yet is nat
maiestee alwaye in haute or fierce couēnāce,
noz in speche outragious or arrogant, but in
honourable and sobze demeanure, deliberate
and graue pronounciacion, wordes cleane and
facile, voyde of rudenes and dishoneste, with-
out vaine or inordinate ianglyng, with suche
an excellent temperaunce that he amonge an
infinite

infinite nombre of other persons, by hyma
testee maye be espyed for a gouernour.

Wherof we haue a noble example in Ho-
mire of *Ulysses*, that whan his shyppe and
men were perished in the sea, and he vncly *Ulysses.*
escaped, and was caste on lande vpon a coast
where the inhabitauntes were called *Phaeas-
tas*, he beyng all naked, sauyng a mantel sent
to hym by the kinges doughter, withoute o-
ther apparel, or seruaunte, represented suche
a wonderful maiestee in his countenance, and
speche, that the kyng of the countrey, named
Aleinous, in that extreme calamitee wylled,
that *Ulysses*, wolde take his doughter *Naus-
sicaa* to wyfe, with a great parte of his treas-
sure. And declaring the honoure that he bare
towards hym, he made for his sake dyuerse
nobles batementes and passetymes. The
people also wondryng at his maiestee, ho-
noured hym with sondrye presentes. And at
theire propre charges and expensis, conuayed
hym into his owne realme of *Ithaca*, in a
shyp of wonderful beaute, wel ordinauns-
sed and manned for his defence & saufe con-
ducte. The wordes of *Aleinous*, whereby he
declareth the maiestee, that he noted to be in
Ulysses, I haue putte in englyshe, not so wel
as I found them in greke.

¶.i.

Gouernour.

I Alcinous to Ulysses.

I Whā I the cōsider Ulysses, I perceiue
Thou doest not dissemble to me in thy spech
As other haue doone, whyche craftylpe can
Deceiue,

Untruelye reportynge, where they lyst to
preache.

Of thynges neuer done, suche falshod they
do teache.

But in thy wordes, there is a ryght good
grace.

And that thy mind is good, it sheweth in thy
face.

I The estimation of maistee in counte-
naunce, shall be declared by two examples
now ensuing.

I To Scipio, bepng in hys manoure place,
called Ainternum, came diuers great theues
& pirates, only to the intent to se his person,
of whose wonderfull prowesse, and sondrye
victories they hearde the renoume. But he
not knowynge, but that they came to endor-
mage hym, armed hym selfe and suche sers-
uantes as he than had with hym, and dys-
posed them about the imbarylmentes of his
house, to make defence, whyche the capitayns
of the theues perceyuinge, dispeched the
multitude from them, & layinge aparte their
harnes and weapons, called to Scipio with
a loude voyce, saytenge: that they came not as
ennemyes

sometimes, but wondyrnge at his vertue and
 promesse, desired only to see hym, whiche yf
 he vouched saufe, they wolde accourte for an
 heauenly benefyte. That beyng shewed to
 Scipio by his seruantes, he caused the ga-
 tes to be sette wyde open, and the theues to
 be suffered to entre: who kysynge the gaates
 and postes with much reuerence, as they had
 bene of a temple or other place dedicate, hum-
 bly approached to Scipio, whiche vylaged
 them in suche fourme, that they as subdued
 with a reuerent dredde, in beholdynge his ma-
 iestee, at the laste ioyfully kysynge his hande
 often tymes, whiche he benignely offered to
 them, made humble reuerence, and so depars-
 ted, laipng in the porch semblable offeringes,
 as they gaue to their goddes: And forthwith
 returned to their owne habitacions, reioys-
 yng incredibly, that they had sene and tou-
 ched a pryncce so noble and valiaunt.

¶ It is no litle thyng to meruaile at the
 maiestee shewed in extreme fortune and mis-
 ery. The noble Romain Marius, whan he
 had ben .vii. times consul, beyng vauquished
 by Sylla, after that he had longe hyd hym
 selfe in marishes, and deserte places, was fi-
 nally constrained by famine to repaire to a
 towne called Minturne, where he trusted to
 haue ben succoured. But the inhabitantes,
 dyedynge the crueltee of Sylla, toke Marius
 and put hym into a dungeon, And after sent
 to slee hym their common hangeman, whiche

Gouernour.

was borne in Lumbria, a countrey somtyme
distroyed by Marius. The hangman, beholds
ding the honourable porte and maiestee, that
remained in Marius, notwithstanding that
he was oute of honorable appaile, & was
in garments toyme & filthy, he thought that
in his visage appered the terrible battayle,
wherein Marius vanquished his countreys
menne: he therfore al trembling, as constra
ined by feare, dydde let fall out of his hande
the swerde, wherewith he shoulde haue slaine
Marius, & leynge him vntouched, fled oute
of the place. The cause of his feare reported
to the people, they meued with reuerence, af
terward studied & deuised how they mought
deliuer Marius from the malice of Sulla.
¶ In Augustus, emperour of Rome, was a
natiue maiestee. For as Suetonius writeth,
frome his eyes proceded rayes or beames,
whiche perced the eyes of the beholders. The
same emperour spake seldom openly, but out
of a comentary, that is to saye, that he hadde
before provided and written, to the entente
that he wolde speke no moze ne lesse than he
hadde purposed.

Exercise
for preser
uynge of
health.

¶ Moreover, toward the acqruityng of ma
iestee, thre thinges be required in the oration
of a man hauing autoritee, that it be compes
ditous, sentencious, & delectable, hauinge also
respekte to the tyme whan, the place where,
and the persones to whom it is spoken. For
the wordes perchance apte for a bankette or
tyme

tyne of solace, be not commendable in tyne of consultation or seruice of god. That language that in the chaumber is tollerable, in place of iudgement or greatesse assembly is no thyng commendable.

¶ Of apparaile belongyng to a noble man beyng a gouernour or great counsaillour. Cap. iii.

Apparaile may be twel a parte of maiestee. For as there hath ben euer a discrepance of besture of youthe and age, men & women, and our lord god ordeined the apparaile of priests distincte from seculars, as it appereth in holye scripture: also the gentyles hadde of aunciente time sondry apparaile to sondry astates, as to the senate, and dignitees called magistras tes. And what enormitee woulde it now be thought, & a thyng to laughe at, to se a iudge or sergent at the lawe in a shorte cote garbed and pounced after the galliard facion, or an apprentise of the lawe or pleder, come to the barre with a millaynz or frenche bonette on his head, set ful of aglettes? So is there apparaile comely to euery astate and degree, and that whyche excedeth or lacketh, procureth reproche, in a noble man specially. For apparaile simple or scant reprooueth him of auarice. If it be alway excedig precious and often tymes changed, as wel into charge as

Governour.

straunge and new facions, it caused hym to be noted dissolute of maners.

The moſte noble emperours of Rome, Auguſtus, Traiane, Hadriane, Antonine, Seuerus, and Alexander, whiche were of al other incomparable in honozable liuiz, vſed a diſcrete moderation in their apparayle, all though they were great emperours and gentyles. Howe muche moze ought than chriſten men, whoſe denomination is founded on humilitie, and they that be not of the ſtate of princis, to ſhew a moderaciō and conſtaunce in beſture, that they dimyniſhe noo parte of theyr maielte, either with new ſanglenefſe, or with ouer ſumptuous expences, and yet maye this laſt be ſuffered, where there is a greate aſſemble of ſtraungers: for than ſome tyme it is expedient, that a noble man, in his apparayle, do aduance him ſelfe to be bothe riche, and honourable. But in this as wel as in other partes of maielte, time is to be highly conſydered.

A ſemblable deckynge oughte to be in the chappell house of a noble man, or manne of honour. and plate I meane concernyng oznamenſe of hal and mete for aſchambres, in Arſe, painted tables, and images noble manes conteigning hystories, wherein is repreſented ſome monumente of vertue, moost cunningly wrought, with the circumſtaunce of the mattier brieſely declared, wherby other menne in beholding, may be instructed, or at the leaſt wayes to vertue perſwaded. In like wyſe

wylle his plate and vessayle wolde be ingra-
ued with histories, fables, or quicke and wylle
sentences, comprehendynge good doctrine or
counsayles, wherby one of these commodi-
tees may happen, eyther that they whiche do
eate or drynke, haupyng those wysedomes
euer in syghte, shall happen with the meate
to receyue some of theym, or by purposynge
them at the table, maye suscite some dispu-
tation or reasonynge, wherby some parte of
tyme shal be saued, whiche elles by super-
fluouse eatynge and drynkyng, wold be idels
ly consumed.

¶ What veray nobilitie is, and wherof
it toke fyrste that denominaci-
on. Capitulo. iiii.

Now it is to be feared, that where ma-
iestie approacheth to excelsse, & the mynd
is obsessed with inordinat glorie, lest
pryde, of al vices most horrible, must
sodeynely enter and take prisoner the hearte
of a gentylman called to auctozitee. Wher-
fore in as much as that pestilence corrupteth
all senses, and maketh theym incurable by Adolescē-
cyes perwasion or doctrine, therefore suche cy, is the
persons, from their adolescenye ought to be age nexte
perwasied and taught true knowlage of to pstate
very nobilitie, in fourme folowynge or like of man.
¶ First that in the beginning, whan pryuate Nobilitie
possessions & dignities were gyuen by the cons begunne.

Governour.

gente of the people, who then had all thyngs in commune, and equalitee in degree and condition, And doubtedlye they gaue the one and the other to him, at whose vertue they merited, and by whose labour and industry they receyued a commune benefyte, as of a commune father, that with equall affection loued theym. And that promptitude of redynesse in employenge that benefite was then named in englyshe gentilnesse, as it was in latine benignitas, and in other tonges after a semblable significacion: and the persons were called gentyl menne, moze for the remembraunce of their vertue and benefyte, than for discrepance of states.

¶ Also it fortuned by the prouidence of god, that of those good menne were ingendred good chyldren, who beyng broughte vp in vertue, and perceyving the cause of the aduancement of their progenytour, endeouored them selves by imitation of vertue, to be equall to theym in honoure and auctoritee: by good emulation they retained styll the fastoure and reuerence of people. And for the goodnes that proceded of suche generacion, the state of them was called in greke Engenia, whiche signifieth good kinde or linage: but in a moze bryefe maier, it was after called nobilitee, and the persons noble, whych signifieth excellēt, and in the analogie, or significacion it is moze ample than gentyl, for it comprehendeth as wel all that, whych is in gentylnesse

nesse, as also the honour or dignitee therfor receyued, whiche be so annexed the one to the other, that they can not be separate

It wold be moze ouer declared, that where vertue ioyned with great possessions or dignitee hath longe continued in the blode or house of a gentil man, as it were an inheritance, there nobilitie is mozte shewed, and these noble men be most to be honozed: for as muche as continuance in all thyng that is good, hath ever preeminence in prayse and comparison. But yet shal it be necessarye to aduersise those personnes, that doo thynke, that nobilitie may in no wise be but onely where men can aduante them of auncient linage, an auncient robe or great possessions, at this daye veray noble men do suppose to be muche errour and folie. Wherof there is a familiar example, whiche we beare euer with vs: for the bloude in our bodies beyng in youthe warme, pure, and lustye, is the occasion of beautee, whiche is euery where commended and loued, but in aage beyng putrified, it lesseth his prayse. And the goutes, carbuncles, hankers, leppes, & other like sores and sicknesses, which do procede of blode corrupted, be to al men detestable. And this perswasion to anye gentilman, in whome is apte disposition to verate nobilitie, wyl be sufficient, to withdraue hym from suche vice, whereby he maye empayze his owne estimation, and the good renoume of his auncetours.

**Nobilitie
auncient.**

Auncient
robes.

Ef he haue an auncient robe, lefte by his auncetour, let hym conſyder, that if the firſte owner were of more vertue than he is, that ſuccedeth, the robe beyng woꝛne, mingyeth his prayſe, to them whiche knowe oꝛ haue hearde of the vertue of hym that firſte owed it. If he that weareth it be vicious, it more detecteth how much he is vnwoꝛthy to weare it, the remembraunce of his noble auncetour makynge men to abhoꝛe the reppoche gyuen by an yuel ſucceſſour.

Nobilitie
wherin
it is.

Ef the firſt owner were not vertuous, it condemneth him that weareth it of much fe- lyſhenesse, to gloꝛie in a thing of ſo baſe eſti- maciō, which lackig beauty oꝛ glosſe, can be none oꝛnamēt to him that wereth it, noꝛ ho- noꝛable remēbrāce to him that firſt owed it.

numaig
of romas

But nowe to confirme by true hystories, that accoꝛdyng as I late affirmed, nobilis- tie is not only in dignitee oꝛ aunciet lignage noꝛ great reuenues landes oꝛ poſſeſſions, let ponge gentylmen haue often tymes tolde to them, and (as it is vulgarely spoken) laped in theire lappes, howe Numa Pompilius was taken from husbandry, whiche he exerciſed, and was made kyng of Romains by electiō of the people, What caused it ſuppoſe yee but his wiſedome and vertue, which in hym was very nobilitie: that nobilitie broughte him to dygnitee: And if that were not nobis lytee, the Romaines were meruailouſly abu- ſed, that after the deathe of Romulus theire kyng,

kyng, hauinge amonge them a hundred senators, whome Romulus dyd set in auctoritee, and also the blod royal, and olde gentilmenne of the Sabynes, who by the procurement of the wyues of the Romaines, beyng their daughters, inhabited the cite of Rome, they wolde not of somme of theym cleete a kyng, rather than aduaunce a ploughe man and straunger to that auctoritee.

Quintius, hauing but .xx. acres of lande, and beyng ploughman therof, the Senate and people of Rome sent a messenger to shew hym, that they hadde chosen hym to be Dictator, whiche was at that tyme the highest dygnitee amonge the Romaines, and for thre monethes had auctoritee royal. Quintius hearing the message, let his ploughe stande, & wet into the cite, & prepared his host against the Samnites, & vanquished them valiantly. And that done, he surrendred his office, and beyng discharged of the dignitee, repaired a gayne to his plough, & applyed it diligently.

If I would demaund now, if nobilitie were onely in the dignitie, or in his prowesse, whiche he shewed against his ennemyes. If it were onely in his dignitee, it therewith ceased, and he was (as I mought saye) yett sonne vnnooble, and than was his prowesse vnrwarded, whiche was the chiefe and original cause of that dignitee: which were incongruent without reason. If it were in his prowesse, prowesse consistinge of valiaunte courage and

Quintius.
Dictator

Governour.

and martiall pollicie, if they styl remaine in the personne, he maye neuer be with out nobilitie, whiche is the commendacion, and as it were the surname of vertue.

**Deceit &
they as
moue.**

The two Romaynes, called bothe decii, were of the base estate of the people, and not of the great blode of the Romaines, yet for the preservation of their countrey, they asuowed to dy, as it were in a satisfaction for al their countrey, and so with valiaunt hartes they perced the host of their ennemies, and valiauntly fightynge dyed there honourably, and by their example gaue suche audacitee and courage to the residue of the Romaines, that they employed so their strengthe against their ennemies, that with litle more losse, they obtained victorie.

Might not these two Romaines, whiche by their death gaue occasion of victorie, be called noble? I suppose no mā that knowith what reason is, wyl deny it.

Moreouer, we haue in this realme copines, which be called nobles, as long as they be sene to be golde, they be so called: but if they be counterfaited, and made in brasse, koper, or other vile mettall, who for the printe onely calleth them nobles? whereby it appeareth, that the estimation is in the metal, and not in the printe or figure.

And in a horse or good greyhounde, we prayse that we se in them, and not the beautes or goodnes of their progenye. Which moeth,

meth, that in esteemyng of money and cattell,
we be led by wpsedome, and in approuynge
of man, to whom best is and money do serue
we be onely induced by custome.

¶ Thus I conclude, that nobylttee is not
after the vulgare opinion of menne, but is
onely the pryse and surname of vertue.

Whiche the longer it continueth in a name or
linage, the moze is nobilitie extolled and more
vayled at.

¶ Of affabilitee, and the vtilitee therof
in euery astate Cap.v.

THat, whiche I before named gens
tylnesse, be intident thre speciall qual-
lites. Affabilitee, Placabilitee, & Merc-
cy of whom I wyl not be separatelye
declare the propre significacions.

¶ Affabilitee is of wonderful efficacie or
power in procuring loue. And it is in sondry
wise, but most properly, where a mā is facile
or easy to be spoken vnto. It is also where a
man speaketh courtesely with a swete speche
or countenance, wherewith the hearers (as it
were with a delicat odour) be refreshed and
allured to loue him, in whom is this mooste
delectable qualitee. As contrariwise, men that
vehemently hate theym, that haue a proude
and haulte countenance, be they netter so-
hygh in astate or degree. How often haue I
heard people saye, whan men in great aucto-
rities

rltee haue passed by, without makynge gentyl countenaunce, to those whyche haue done to them reuerence, This man wemethe with a loke, to subdue all the worlde: Nay nay, mens heartes be free, and wyl loue whome they lyst. And therto all the other do consent in a murmure, as it were bees, Lorde god how they be sore blynded, whyche do weene, that hault countenaunce is comelynes of nobilitie, where vndoubtedly nothyng is there to, a moze greater blemyshe: As they haue wel proued, which by fortunes mutabyltee haue chaunged theyr estate, whā they perceiue that the remembraunce of theyr pryde with draweth all pytee, all men reioysynge at the chaunge, of their fortune.

Dionise the proude kyng of Sicile, after that for hys intollerable pryde, was dyspued by his people out of his realme, the remembrance of his hault and statelpe countenance was to all men so odious, that he coulde bee in no countrey wel enterpyned. In so muche as if he hadde not be releued by lernynge, teaching a grāmer schole in Italy, he for lacke of frendes had bene constrained to beg for his lyuynge.

Semblably Perles king of Macedonia, and one of the richest kynges that euer was in Grece. For his execrable pryde, was at the last abandoned of al hys allies and confederates, by realō wherof he was vanquished, and take prisoner by Paulus Emilius, one of

of the consules of Rome: not onely he him selfe bounden, and ledde as a captiue, in the triumph of the sayde Paulus, but also the remembrance of his pryde was so odious to people, that his owne sonne destitute of frendes, was by nede constrained to worke in a smythes forge, not fyndyng any man that of his harde fortune had any compassion.

The pryde of Tarquine, the last kynge of Romaynes, was more occasion of hys exile: than the rauyng of Lucretia, by his sonne Brutus, for the malice that the people by his pryde had longe gathered, findyng valiant capytaines, Brutus, Collatinus, Lucretius, and other nobles of the citee, at the last brast out and takinge occasion of the rauishment, although the kynge were thereto no partye, they vtterly expelled him for euer out of the citee. These be the frutes of pryde, and that men do cal stately countenaunce.

Whan a noble man passeth by, the wynges to men a gentyl and familiare visage, it is a worlde to beholde, howe people taketh comfort how the bloude in their visage quickeneth, howe their flesh stretcheth and heartes leape for gladnes: Then they all speke, as it were in an harmonye, the one saythe, who beholdyng this mannes most gentyl countenance, wyl not with all hys hert loue hym? Another saith, He is no man but an angel, se how he reioyseth all men that beholde hym. Finally, all do graunt, that he is worthy all honoz that may

Gentil countenaunce.

Governonr

may be gyven or wished hym.

¶ But now to resorte to that, which moste poptely (as I have sayd) is affabilitee, whiche is facile or easy to be spoken vnto.

¶ Marcus Antonius, emperor of Rome (as Lampadius wyrteth) inserched, who were moste homelye and playne men within the citee, and secretly sent for them into his chambze, where he diligentely enquired of them, what the people conceited of his lyvinge, commaundynge them, vpon paine of his hyghe indignacion, to tell him trouthe, and hyde nothyng frome hym. And vppon their reposte, if he hearde any thyng worthe neuer so litle dispryse, he forthwith amended it. And also by such meanes he corrected them that were aboute his person, fyndinge them negligent dissemblers, and flatterers.

¶ The noble Traiane, whiche his nobles and counsaillours noted hym to familiar and curstaple, and therfore dyd blame him, he answered, that he wolde be a like emperoure to other men, as if he were a subiecte, he wolde wishe to have ouer hym selfe.

Liberty & speaking. **¶** What damage hath ensued to princis and their realmes, where libertee of speche hath ben restrained?

¶ What anayled fortune incomparable to alexanders the greate kyng Alexander, his wonderfull cruelte in puiſſaunce and hardines, or his singuler doſe of sleing his cترین in philosophye, taughte hym by his frendes. **¶** Aristotle, in deliuerynge hym from the deathe in his

hys yonge and flourishing age: where if he had reteinēd the same affabilitie, that was in him in the beginning of his conquest, and hadde not put to silence hys counsaylours, whiche befoze vsed to speke to hym frankly, he mought haue escaped all violence deathe: and by similitude haue entoyed the hole monarchie of all the worlde. For after that he waxed to be terrible in maners, and prohibited his friendes, and discrete seruantes, to vse their accustomed libertie in speche, he fel into the hateful grudge among his owne people.

¶ But I had almost forgotten Julius Cesar, who beyng not able to susteyne the burden of fortune, and enuie his own felicitie, abandoned his natural disposition, and as it were beyng dionke with ouer much welthe, sought newe wayes, howe to be aduanced aboue the estate of mortal prynces, wherfoze lytel and lytell he withdrew from menne his accustomed gentylness, becoming moze sturby in langage, and strange in countenance, than euer befoze hadde ben hys visage. And to declate moze playnely hys intentione, he made an edicte or decrec, that no man should please to come to him vncalled, and that they shulde haue good awaite, that they spake not in such famyliar facion to him as they befoze hadde ben accustomed: where by he so dyd aspenate frome hym the hertes of hys mooste wyse and assured adherentes,

R. 1.

that

Julius Cesar
for exāple
of tyrāny

that from that tyme forward, hys lyfe was
to them tedious: and abhorreng hym as a
monstre or common enemye, beyng knyght
in a confederacye, slewe him spytyng in the
Senate: of whiche conspiracye was chiefe
capitayne Marcus Brutus, whom of al o-
ther he beste loued, for his greate wysdome
and prowesse. And it is of some wyters su-
spectyd, that he was begotten of Cæsar, for
as muche as Cæsar in his yowthe loued Ser-
uilia, the mother of Brutus, was men sup-
posed, vled hit more famyliarly the honestee
required. Thus Cæsar by omittinge his olde
affayntee, dyd incense his next frendes and
companionys to slea him.

22nd line
of the 1st col
yng, to

Damage
esuing by
lacke of li-
bertee of
speche.

¶ But nowe take hede what damage ens-
ued to hym by his decre, wherein he commaun-
ded, that no man shoulde be so hardye to ap-
proche or speake to hym: One, whiche knewe
of the conspiracye againste hym, and by all
likelihode dyd participate therein, beyng me-
ued either with loue or pitye, or otherwise his
conscience remozding against the destruction
of so noble a prince, considering that by Cæ-
sars decree he was prohibited to haue to
hym anye familiar accessse, so that he myght
not plainely detette the conspiracy, he there-
to vehemently meued, wrote in a byll all the
fourme thereof, with the meanes howe it
myghte be espyed, and sens he mought fynde
none other oportunittee, he deliuered the byll
to Cæsar the same daye that hys deathe was
pres

prepared, as he wente toward the place, where the Senat was holden. But he beinge radicate in pride, and neglectynge to loke on that bpl, not esteemyng the person that delpyered it, which perchace was but of a meane hauiour, continued his waye to the Senat, where he incontinent was slayne by the sayd Brutus and many mo of the Senat for that purpose appointed.

¶ Who beholding the cause of the deathe of this most noble Cesar, vnto who in eloquence doctrine, martiall prowesse, & gentillesse, no prince maye be compared: & the acceleration of hast to his confusion, caused by his own spie or decre, wyl not commend affabilitie, & extol liberalitee of speche: wherby only loue is in the heartes of people perfectly kendeled, all feare excluded, and consequently realmes, dominions, and all other auctorities consolidated and perpetually stablished. The sufferance of noble men to be spoken vnto, is not only to them an incomparable suretee, but also a confounder of repentaunce, enemy to prudence, wherof is ingendred this word. Had I wilt, which hath be euer of all wylse men reynourd,

¶ On a tyme kynge Philippe, father to the great Alexander sittinge in iugement, and hauinge before him a matter against one of his suspected souldiours, beinge ouercomen with watche through fel on a slombze, and suddenly beinge a wakker of, he, immediatly wold haue geuen a sentence speche. against the poore souldiour. But he with a plutarke

R. II. great

great voyce and outcrye sayd: King Philip,
 I appele, To whome wilt thou appele sayde
 the kyng? To the (saide the souldiour) whan
 thou arte thoroughly awaked. With whyche
 aunswere the kyng suspended hys sentence,
 and moze diligently examynynge the matter,
 found, the souldiour hadde wronge: whyche
 beyng sufficiently discussed, he gaue iudges
 mente for hym, whome befoze he wolde haue
 condemned.

A Semblably hapned by a pooze woman, a
 gainste whom the same kyng hadde geuen
 iudgement, but she as desperate, wryth a loud
 voyce cryed: I appele, I appele. To whom
 appelest thou sayde the kyng: I appeale,
 sayde she, frome the, howe beyng dronke, to
 kyng Philip the sobze. At whyche wordes,
 though he were vndiscrete and foolyshe,
 yet he not beyng moued to displeasure, but
 gatherynge to hym his wittes, examined the
 matter moze seriously: wherby he fyndynge
 the pooze womanne to susteyne wronges, re
 uersed his iudgement, and accordyng to truth
 and iustice, gaue to her that she demaunded.
 Wherein he is of noble authors comended,
 not for an honozable example of affabilitee.

Antonius. **A** The noble emperour Antonine, called the
 philoso: philosopher, was of suche affabilitee, as Hes
 phus. Herodiane writeth, that to euerie manne that
 rodianus came to hym, he gentilly deliuered his hand.
 And wold not permitte, that his gard shulde
 prohibite any man to appoche hym.

The

The excellent Emperor Augustus on a tyme, in the presence of many menne, played on cymballes, or an other lyke instrumente. A poore manne standinge with other, and he holdynge the emperor, sayde with a loud voyce to his felowe, **Seest thou not howe this voluptuous lechoure tempereth all the worlde with his finger? Whyche wordes the emperoure so wylselye noted, withoute wrath or displeasure, that euer after, during his lyfe, he refrained his handes from semblable lyghtnesse.**

August?

Suetonius.

The good Antonine, emperor of Rome commynge to supper to a meane gentylman, behelde in the house certayne pylers of a delicate stone, called porphoyr, asked of the good man, where he hadde bought those pylers. Who made to the emperor this aunswere: **Syr, whan ye come into anye other mans howse, than youre owne, euer be you both dome and dese. Whyche lyberal taunte that mooste gentle emperor toke in so good parte, that he often tymes reherled that sentence to other, for a wyse & discrete counsayl.**

Antoni?

Pius.

Lapid?

By these examples appereth nowe evidently, what good cometh of affabyltee or sufferance of speche, what mooste pernicious danger alway ensueth to them, that eyther do refuse counsayle, or prohibite lybertye of speche, sens that in lybertye (as it hath ben proued) is mooste perfect suertye, accordynge as it is remembred by Plutarke, of Theopompus

A. iii.

pompus

Gouernour.

pompue, kynge of Lacedemone, who beyngt
demanded, howe a realme moight be best
and moſte ſurely kept: If (ſaid he) the prince
gyue to his frendes libertee, to ſpeke to hym
thynges that be iuſte, and neglecieth not the
wzonges, that his ſubiectes ſuſteineth.

Howe noble a vertue placabilitee is. cap. vi.



Placabilitee is no litle part
of benignitee, and is propre
ly where a mā is by any oc
caſion moued to be angrie,
and notwithstandinge eue
ther by hys owne reaſon
ingenerate, or by counſaile

perſwaded, omitteth to be reuenged, and
often tymes receyueſh the tranſgreſſours
ones reconſyled, into moze fauour, whyche
vndoubtedlye is a vertue wonderfulle ex
cellente. For as Cully ſaythe: Nothyng
is moze to be meruayled at, or that moze be
cometh a man noble and honozable, thanne
mercy and placabilitee. The valewe there
of is beſte knowne by the contrarie, why
che is pryce, called vulgarely wzathe, a vice
moſte vgly, and farreſt from humanitee.

Prece
wzathe.

For who beholdyng a manne in eſtimas
tion of nobyltye and wyſedom, by ſurpe
changed into an horrible figure, hys face in
ſarced with rancour, hys mouth ſoule and
imboled, his eyen wyde ſtaring, and ſparkes
lyng

lyng lyke a fyre, not spekyng, but as a wilde
bulle, roppng & brayng out wordes despyte-
ful and venemous, forgettyng his estate or
condicion, forgettyng learnynge, & forget-
tyng al reason, wyl not haue suche a passio-
on in extreme detestacion: Shal he not wyl-
ly to be in such a man placabilitee: whereby on-
ly he shuld be estones restored to the fourme
of a man, whereof he is by wyath despoiled,
as it is woderfly wel described by Ouide in
his crafte of loue.

Wan to thy visage it is conuenient,
Beastly fury mostely to allwage.
For peace is beautifull to man onely sent,
Wyathe to the beast is cruel and sauage,
For in man the face swelleth, whan wyathe
is in rage.

The bloudde becommeth wanne, the eyes
fyr bright.

Lyke Gorgon the monster, apperynge in the
nyght.

This Gorgon that Ouide speakerthe of
is supposed of poetes to be a furpe, or infer-
nall monster, whose heares weare all in the
figure of adders, signifyng the abundance
of mischiefe, that is contained in wyathe.

Wherwith the great kyng Alexander beyng
(as I mought say) oblessed, did put to ven-
geable death his dere frend Clitus, his most Alexāder
prudent counsaillour Calisthenes, his mooste in fury.

R. iiii.

valiante

Governour.

valiant capitayne Philotas, with his father
Parmenio, and diuers other. Wherof he so
soze after repented, that oppressed with heu-
nes, hadde slayne him selfe, hadde he not ben
lette by his seruauntes. Wherefore his fury
and an inordinate wrath, is a fowle and
greuous blemysse to his glozy, whiche with-
out that vice, had incomparably excelled all
other princis.

**Chehor-
ble cruelty
of Sylla &
Marius.**

Who abhorreth or hateth not the violence
or rage that was in Sylla and Marius:
noble Romans, and in their tyme in highest
authoritee within the citee, hauynge the go-
uernance of the moze parte of the worlde,
Sylla, for the malignee that he hadde to-
ward Marius, caused the heades of a thous-
lande and seven hundredde of the chiefe cits-
zens of Rome to be striken of, and broughte
to hym freshe bledynge and quicke, and there-
on fedde hys moste cruell eyen, whiche to
eate hys mouthe naturally abhorred. Ma-
rius with no lesse rancour inflamed, besyde
a terrible slaughter, that he made of noble
men, leanyng to Sylla, also caused Catus
Cesar (who had ben both Consul and Cens-
sor, two of the moste honorable dignitees
in the citee of Rome) to be violently drawen
to the sepulture of one Marius, a simple and
sedicious person, and there to be dishonestly
slayne. With like bestial fury, he caused the
head of Marcus Antonius, one of the moste
eloquente oratours of al the Romans, to
be

he broughte vnto hym, as he sate at dyner, & there toke the heade all bloudy betwene hys handes, and with a malicious countenance reproched hym of hys eloquence, wherewith he hadde not onely defended many an innocent, but also the holle publike weale by hys wyse consultations singularly profited.

¶ What calamitee hapned to that mooste noble citee of Rome, by the implacabilitee of wrathe insatiabile, of these two capptaynes, or (as I mought rather say) deuilles: the nobles betwene theim exhauste, the cheualrye almost consumed, the lawes oppressed, and lackynge but lyttell, that the publyke weale had not be extinct, & the citee vitterly desolate.

¶ The vndiscrete hastinesse of theemperour Claudius, caused hym to be noted for foolyshe. For he meued with wrathe, caused diuers to be slayne, for whom after he demanded, and wold sende for to souper. Notwithstandynge that he was right wel lerned, and in dyuers greatte affaires appeared to be wyse. These discommodities do happen by implacable wrathe, wherof there be examples innumerable.

¶ Contrariwyse, the valiant king Pirthus hearinge that two menne at a feast, and in a great assembly and audience, hadde openly spoken wordes, to his reproche, meued with displeasure, sente for the persones: and whan they were come, he demaunded whether they spake of hym anye such wordes: whervnto

R.v.

one

one of them answered, If (sayde he) the wine had not the sooner capled vs, all that whiche was tolde to your highnes, in comparison of that whiche shoulde haue ben spoken, had bene but trifles. The wyle prince with that playne confession was intygate, and his wraithe conuerted to laughyng.

**Blacab:
litee,**

I Julius Cesar, after his victorpe againste the great Pompei, who, had married his daughter, sittinge in open iudgemente. Sergius Calba one of the nobles of Rome, a frende vnto Pompei, said vnto hym: I was bounden for thy sonne in law Pompei in a greatesumme, whan he was consul the thyrde time. wherfore I am nowe sewed. What shall I do: Shal I my selfe pay it: by whiche wordes he mought seeme to reproche Cesar of the sellynge of Pompeis goodes, in defrauding his creditours. But Cesar tha hauinge a gratyl herte and a patient, was not meued with any displeasure towarde Calba: but caused Pompeis decrees to be discharged.

We lacke not of this vertue domesticall examples, I meane of oure owne kynges of Englande, but mooste speciallpe one, whiche in myne oppnyon, is to be compared with anye, that euer was wrytten of in anye regyon or countrey.

A good **I** The mooste renoumed prince kyng Henry Iudge, a the fyfte, late kyng of Englande, durynge good prync the lyfe of hys father, was noted to bee fierse a good hig and of wanton courage: it hapned that one
of

of his seruantes, tohome he fauoured well,
 was for felony by him committed, arreigned
 at the kynges bench: whereof the prince be-
 yng aduertised, and incensed by lyghte per-
 sones aboute hym, in furiose rage came
 hastily to the barre, where his seruante stode
 as a prisoner, and commaunded hym to bee
 yngeued and set at libertee, Whereat all men
 were abashed, referred the chiefe Justice,
 who humbly exhorted the prince to be conten-
 ted, that his seruante mought bee ordered
 accordyng to the aunient lawes of this re-
 alme: or yf he wolde haue hym saued frome
 the rigour of the lawes, that he shoulde ob-
 teine yf he mought, of the kyngs hys father
 his gracious pardon, wherby no lawe or ius-
 tice shoulde be derogate. With whyche an-
 swere the prince nothyng appeased, but ra-
 ther moze inflamed, endeuoured hym selfe
 to take away his seruante. The iudge consi-
 derynge the perillous examyle, and inconue-
 nience that mought therby insue, with a va-
 liant spirite and courage, commaunded the
 prince vpon his alegeance, to leaue the pris-
 oner and depart his way, with which comman-
 dement the prince beyng set at un a fure, all
 chafed and in a terrible maner, cam vp to the
 place of iugemēt, men thinking that he wold
 haue slayne the iudge, or haue done to hym
 some damage: but the iudge sittynge stil with-
 out mouig, declaring the maiestee of the kin-
 ges place of iugemēt, with an assured bold
 coun

Governour,

countenance, had to the p[re]sence these wordes
folowynge.

C Sir remembre your selfe, I kepe here the
place of the kyng your soueraigne lord and
father, to whom ye owe double obedience,
wherefore c[er]tsoones in his name, I charge
you desiste of your wylfulnesse and vnlaw
full enterpryse, and from henceforth geue
good example to those, whiche hereafter
shal be your propre subiectes. And now, for
your contempte and disobedience, goe you to
the prison of the kynges bench, whereunto
I comytte you, and remayne ye there pri
soner vntill the pleasure of the kyng your
father be further knowen. With whiche
wordes being abashed, and also wonderynge
at the meruailous graunt of that worshipp
ful iustyce, the noble prince layng his wea
pon aparte, doynge reuerence, departed, and
went to the kynges bench, as he was com
manded. Wherat his seruantes disdeigning
came and shewed to the kyng al the holle af
faire. Wherat he a whyles studieng, after
as a man al rayshed with gladnes, holding
his eyes and handes vp towarde heauen, as
brayded with a lowde voyce: O mercyfull
god, howe muche am I bounde to your in
finite goodnesse, speciallre for that ye haue
geuen me a iudge, who feareth not to mini
ster iustice, and also a sonne, who can suffer
semblably, and obeye iustice?

C Nowe here a man maye beholde thre per
sones

sones, worthy excellent memoꝛye. Firste a iudge, who beyng a subiecte, feared not to execute iustice on the eldest sonne of his soverayne lord, and by the order of nature hys successoure. Also a prince, and sonne and heire of the kyng, in the myddes of hys furye, moze considered his euyl example, and the iudges constance in iustice, than hys owne estate or wyllful appetite. Thirde, a noble kyng and wyse father, who contrarie to the custome of parentes, reioysed to se his sonne and the heire of his crowne, to bee for hys disobedience, by his subiect corrected. Wherefore I conclude, that nothyng is moze honorable, or to be desired in a prince or noble man than placabilitee. As contrariwise, nothinge is so detestable or to be feared in suche one, as wyathe and cruel malignitee.

¶ That a gouernour ought to be merciful, and the diuersitee of merce and vaine pitee. Cap. vii.

Mercy is and hath bene euer of suche estimation with mankinde, that not onely reason perswadeith, but also experience proueth, that in whome merce lacketh, and is not founden, in hym all other vertues be drowned, and loose their iuste commendacion.

¶ The vice called crueltie, whiche is contrary to merce, is by good reason moste odious

bus of all other vices, in as muche as lyke a
poyson or continual pestilence, it destroyeth
the generation of man. Also lykewise as no
thyng meates and drynkes in a sycke bo-
dy, doe lose their bountie and augmente the
malady, semblably diuers vertues in a per-
son cruel and malicious, be not onely ob-
scate or had, but doe minister occasyon and
assistance to crueltie.

But nowe to speake of the incalculable
price and value of mercy, Lette gouernours
whych knowe, that they haue receiued their
power from aboue, reuolue in their myndes,
in what peryll they thein selfe bee in dayly,
if in god were not abundance of mercy, but
that as soone as they offende hym greuously:
If, he should immediately strike them with his
moste terrible dart of vengeance: All be it
ynneth anye houre passeth, that men deserue
not some punishment.

The moste noble emperours, whych for
their merites receiued of the gentils diuine
honours, banyquished the greates heartes of
their mortall enemies, in shewing mercy, a-
boue mens expectation.

Julius Cesar, which in polley, eloquence,
celertie and prowesse, excelled all other ca-
pitaynes, in mercy onely, surmounted hym
selfe, that is to saye, contrary to his owne af-
fectes and determinate purposes, he not onely
spared, but also receiued into tender fa-
uour his sworne enemies. Wherefore
if the

if the disdeligne of hys owne bloudde and alliance had not traiterouslye slayne hym, he had reigned long and prosperously.

¶ But amonge manye other exammples of mercy, wherof the histories of Rome doe s: Seneca de bounde, there is one remembred by Seneca, clemencia which maye be in dede of a great numbre.

¶ It was reported to the noble emperoure mercy the Octavius Augustus, that Lucius Linna, wed by a which was susters sonne to the great Pompey, had imagined his death: Also that Linna was appoynted to execute his feate, whyles the emperoure was doyng his sacrifice. This report was made by one of the conspiratours, and therewith diuers other thynges agreed: the olde hostilities betwene the houses of Pompei and Cesar, the wild & lecherious wife of Linna, with the place and tyme, wher and whan the emperour shuld be disfurished of seruantes. No wonder though the emperours mynde were vnquiet, beyng in so perillous conflict, considerynge on the one parte, that if he shuld put to death Linna, whyphe came of one of the mooste noble and auncient houses of Rome, he shoulde euer lyue in danger, oncles he shuld destroy al that noble family, and cause the memorie of theim to be bitterly exterminate: whyphe mought not be brought to passe, without effusion of the bloude of persones innūmerable, and also perill of the subuersion of the empire, late pacified. On thother parts, he
con

considered the imminent daunger, that hys
persone was in, wherfore nature stered him
to prouide for his suretee: wherto he thought
than to be none other remedy, but the death
of his aduersary. To hym beyng thus per-
plexed, came his wife leuia the emperesse, who
sayde vnto him: Pleaseth it you sit to here a
womans aduise. Doo you as phisicians be
wont to doo, where their accustomed reme-
dies proue not, they assaye the contrarie. By
seueritee ye haue hitherto nothyng profited:
proue therfore nowe, what mercy maye ad-
uaile you. Forgyue Cinna, he is taken with
the maynure, and maye not now in damage
you, profite he maye muche to be increase
of your renoume and perpetuall glory. The
emperour reioysed to hym selfe, that Cinna
had founde suche an aduocatrice, and giuing
her thanks, caused his counsailours, wher-
e he hadde sent for, to be rountermanded,
and calling to him Cinna only, commaunded
the chaumbre to bee auoyded, and an other
chaire to be set for Cinna and that done, he
sayde in this maner to hym: I desire of the
this one thyng, that whyles I speake, thou
wylt not let or disturbe me: in the middes
of my wordes make any exclamation.

¶ What tyme Cinna, I founde the in the
hoste of myne ennemys, althoughe thou
were not by anye occasion made myne en-
emy, but by succession from thyne auncestors
bothe myne enemye, I not onelye saued the,
but

but also gaue vnto the all thine inheritances:
And at this daye thou art so prosperous and
riche, that they, whiche hadde with me vic-
tory, do enuie the, that were vanquished.

Thou askeddest of me a spiritual promoti-
on, and furthwith I gaue it the, before mas-
ny other, whose parètes hadde serued me in
warres. And for that I haue done so muche
for the, thou haste nowe purposed to slea
me. At that worde, whan Linna cried oute,
saynge, that suche madnes was farre from
his mynde, Linna (sayd the emperour!) thou
kepest not promise, it was couenanted, that
thou shuldest not interrupte me. I saye thou
preparest to kyl me. And therto the emperour
named his companions, the place, tyme, and
order of al the cōspiracy, and also to whome
the sword was committed. And when he
perceiued hym astonied, holdynge than his
peace, not for bycause that he so promised,
but that his consciēce him meued. For what
intente dyddest thou thus, (sayde Augustus)
bycause thou woldest be Emperoure? In
good faith the publike weale is in an euill
estate, if nothyng lettethe the to reigne, but
I, onely. Thou canste not mainteyne or des-
fende thine owne house. It is not longe sene
that thou in a priuate iudgemēt, were ouer-
comen of a pooze man but late infraunchy-
sed. Therfore thou mayst nothyng do lyght-
lyer than plede agaynst the emperour. Saye
now, do I alone let the of thy purposes sup-

possist thou that Paule, Fabius Maximus, the Cosses, & Scruillis, aunciente houses of Rome, and such a sorte of noble men (not they which haue vaine and glorious names, but such as for their meritis be adozned with their propre images) wyl suffre the: Finally sayd the emperoure (after that he had talked with him by the space of two houres) I giue to the thy lyte Linna the seconde tyme: for he beyng mine enemy, nowe a traitour & murderer of thy soueraine lord, whom thou oughtest to loue as thy father. Now fro this daye let amitie betwene vs two beginne, and lette vs bothe contende, whether I with a better heart haue geuen to the thy lyfe, or that thou canst more gentilly recompence my kindnes.

C So after Augustus gaue to Linna the dignitee of consull undesired, blamyng hym, that he durste not aske it, wherby he hadde hym mooste assured and loyalle. And Linna afterwarde dyeng, gaue to the emperour all his goodes and possessions. And neuer after was Augustus in daunger of any treason.

C What sufficiente prayse maye bee geuen to this mooste noble and prudente emperour, that in a chambie alone, without menne, or densusance, or weapon, and perchaunce without harnais, within the space of .ii. houres, with wordes wel touched, sepered with maiestee, not onelye vanquished & subdued one moztal enemy, which by a malignitie engendred of a domesticall hatred, had determined

to sle hym, but by the same feate excluded out of the hole citee of Rome all dyspleasure and rancour towarde him, so that there was not leste anye occasion, wherof mought procede any lyttel suspencion of treason, whych the other wyse coulde not haue hapned without slaught of people innumerable.

¶ Also the emperesse Liwia, may not of right be forgotten, whych the mynystred to her lord that noble counsayl. in suche a perplexitee, wherby he saued both hym selfe and his people. Suppose ye that all the Senatours of Rome, and counsaylours of the emperoure. whych the were lyttel fewer than a thousande, coulde haue better aduised hym? This his storye therfore is no lesse to be remembred of women than of princes, takyng thereby comferte to perswade swetely there housbandes to merite and patience, to whych counsayls onely, they shoulde be admitted and haue free lyberte. But I shal forbere to speke moze of Liwia nowe, for as muche as I purpose to make a booke onely for ladies, where in her laude shalbe moze amplye expessed. But to resorte nowe to mercy.

¶ Surely nothyng moze intierly and fast lye iopneth the hartes of subiectes to their pryncce or soueraigne, than merite and gentylnes. For Seneca saith: A temperate dyed represseth hygh and sturdy myndes: feare frequent and warpe, set forth with extremities, kereth menne to presumption and hardines,

and conſteſigneth them to experimēte all
thynges. He that haſtily puniſheth, oft ti-
mes ſone repēteth. And who that ouer muche
correcteth, obſeructh none equities. And if ye
aſke me what merce is, it is a temperaunce
of the mynde of hym, that hath the power to bee
auenged, and it is called in latin clementia
and is alwaye ioynd with reſon. For he that
for euerye lyttel occaſion is moued with com-
paſſion, and beholdyng a man puniſhed con-
dignely for his offence, lamenteth or wayleth,
is called pitious, which is a ſickenelle of the
mynde, wherewith at this day the moze parte
of men be diſeaſed. And yet is the ſykenelle
muche wors by addyng to one worde, cal-
lyng it *Maine pite*.

¶ Some man perchaunce wyl demaunde of
me, what is *Maine pite*? To that I wyl an-
ſwere in a deſcription of dayly experience.

¶ Beholde what an infinite nombze of en-
gelyſhe men and women, at this preſent time,
Main pite wander in all places throughte oute this res-
alme, as beaſtes brute and ſauage abandou-
nyng al occupation, ſeruiſe, and honeſtye.
Howe many ſemely perſonages, by outrage
in riote, gamyng, and exceſſe of apparaille,
be enduced to theft and robbery, and ſometyms
to murder, to the iniquitacion of good men,
and finally to their owne deſtruction.

¶ Nowe conſyder ſemblablye, what noble
ſtatutes, ordinaunces and actes of counſaile
from tyme to tyme haue ben extogitate, and
by

by grante Rude and mature consultacon,
 enacted and decreed, as well for due punis-
 shement of the sayde idle personnes and va-
 cabundes, as also for the suppression of vns-
 lawfull games, and reducyng apparaple to
 conuenient moderation and temperaunce:
 How manye proclamacions therof haue ben
 diuulgate, and not obeyed? How many com-
 missions directed, and not executed? (Marke
 wel here, that disobediente subiectes, and
 neglygente gouernours, doo frustrate good
 lawes) A man hearyng, that his neyghboure
 is slayne or robbed, forth with hateth the of-
 fendour, and abhorreth his enormitee, thynk-
 yng hym worthy to be punished, accordyng
 to the lawes: yet whā he beholdeth the trans-
 gressour, a seemely personage, also to bee his
 seruant acquaintance or a gentyl man bozne
 (I omitte now to speake of anye other cor-
 ruption) he forthwith changeth his opinion,
 and preferreth the offendours condition or
 personage, befoze the example of iustice, con-
 demnyng a good and necessary lawe, for to
 excuse an offence pernicious and damnable,
 yee and this is not onely done by the vulgare
 or commune people, but much rather by the,
 whiche haue auctoritee to theim committed
 concernyng the effectual execution of lawes.
 They beholde at their eye the continuall en-
 crease of vacaboundes, into infinite num-
 bres, the obstinate resistance of them that day
 ly do transgresse the lawes made against ga-
 mes.

Governour.

mes, and apparayle, whych he the stright
pathes to robbery, and semblable mischief, yet
yf any one commissioner, moved with zeale to
his countrey accordyng to his duety, do res-
tute duely, and frequentye the lawe of good
ordinaunce, wherein is anye sharpe punish-
mente, some of his companions thereat res-
boyleth, insampng him to be a man without
charitee, calling him secretly a pyke thanke
of ambitions of gloze, and by such maner of
obloquie, seke meanes to bynge hym into
the hatred of people. And this maye be well
called vaine pitee, wherein is contained ney-
ther iustice nor yet comendable charitee, but
rather thereby insueth negligence, contempte,
disobedience, and synallye all myschiefe and
incurable myserye.

If this sykenesse hadde reigned among
the olde Romaines, suppose ye that the astate
of their publyke weale had six hundred yeres
increased, and two hundred yeres continued
in one excellent astate and wonderfull mas-
trestre? Or thinke ye that the same Romaines
mought to haue ordyed manye greate coun-
treys, with fewer mynisters of iustice, than
be now in one shire of Englander?

But of that matter, and also of rigour and
equalites of punishment, I wyl reite more
amplye in a place more propyse for that pur-
pose. And here I conclude to wyte any more
at this tyme of mercy.

The

The principal partes of humanite. Chap. viii.

The nature or condicion of man, where in he is lesse than god almighty, & excelleng notwithstandinge al other creatures in erth, is called humanite, whiche is a generall name to those vertues, in whom semeth to be a mutual goodde & loue, in the nature of mā. And althoughe there be many of the sayde vertues, yet be there thre principal, by whome humanitee is cheefely compact. Beneuolence, Beneficence, and Liberalitee, whiche maketh by the sayde principal vertue called Benignitee or gentynesse.

Beneuolence, if it do extend to a hole cōmū charytee, freye or citee, is properly called charitee, and some tyme zeale: and if it concerne one person, Benenolence. it be very feruēt, and to one singuler person, Loue. than may it be named loue or amitte. Of that Amitee, vertuous disposicion procedeth an acte, liberalitye, whereby some thyng is compiled, whych is profitable and good to hym that receyueth it. And that vertue, if it be in operation, or (as I mought saye) endeavour: is called than Beneficence: and the dede (vulgarely named a good turne) maye be called a benefitt. If it be in moneys, or other thyng that hath substance, it is than called Liberalitee, whiche is not alway a vertue, as Beneficēce is, for in wel doing (whych is the right enterpryse

Gouernour.

facit of Beneficence) can be no vice included. But Liberalitee, though it procede of a free and gentyl heart, willing to do some thyngs thankeful, yet may it transgresse the bondes of vertue, eyther in extessive rewardes, or expences, or els employing treasour, promotion, or other substance on persons unworthy, or on thynges inconuenient, and of small importunace. Al be it some thynke surthe manner of erogacion not to be worthy the name of Liberalitee.

**Liberal
man.
Ethic. ii.**

Aristotle defineth a liberal man, whiche doth erogate, accordyng to the rate of his substance, and as oportunitie hapneth. He saith also in the same place, that Liberalitee is not in the multitude or quantitee of that whiche is gauen, but in the habite or facion of the gauer. For he gyueth accordyng to his habilitie. Neither Cull approueth it to be Liberalitee, wherin is anye mixture of auarice or rapin: for it is not properly Liberalitee, to exact iniustly, or by violence or craft to take goodes from particuler persons, and distribute them in a multitude: or to take from many iniustly, and enrich therewith one person or few. For as the same autour saith, the last precept concerning benefices or rewardes is, to take good hede, that he contende not against equitee, ne that he uphold no iniurye. Now wyl I procede seriously and in a due forme to speke moze particularly of these thyngs vertues: Notwithstanding there is such affinite

affinitie betwene beneficēce and liberalitee,
 beyng alwayes a vertue, that they tende to
 one conclusion or purpose, that is to saye,
 with a glad and free wyl to gyue to another
 that thyng, whiche he before lacked.

¶ Of what excellence Beneuo-
 lence is. Cap. ix.



Can I remembre, what incompa-
 rable goodnes hath ever proce-
 ded of this vertue beneuolēce
 merciful god, what sweete fla-
 uour fele I, perspyng my spiri-
 tes, wherof both my soule and
 body to my thynkyng do conceiue suche res-
 creation, yf it seemeth me to be in a paradise,
 or other semblable place of incomparable
 delites and pleasures.

¶ First I beholde the dignitie of that ver-
 tue, consideryng that god is thereby chiefely
 knowen and honoured, both of aungel and
 man, As contrarywise, the deuil is hated and
 reprobued bothe of god & man for his malice,
 which vice is contrarious and repugnant to
 Beneuolence. Wherfore without Beneuo-
 lence may be no god. For god is all goodnes
 all charitee, all loue, whiche holly be compres-
 sended in the sayd worde Beneuolence.

¶ Now let vs see, where any other vertue
 maye be equall in dignitie with this vertue
 Beneuolence; or yf anye vertue remaineth
 where

where this is excluded: For what cometh
of Prudence, where lacketh Beneuolence
but disceite, rauine, auarice, and tyranny.

What of Fortitude, but beastlye crueltie,
oppression, and effusyon of bloudde. What
iustice may there be without Beneuolence:
sens the fyrst oz chiefe portion of iustice (as
Cullis saith) is to endamage no man, onlesse
thou be wrongfully viced. And what is the
cause hereof, but equall and entier loue, whis
the beyng remoued oz cessyng, who endenou
reth not him selfe to take frome an other all
thyng that he coueteth oz for euerie thyng
that discontenteth hym, would not forthwith
be auenged: wherby he confoundeth the ver
tue called Temperance, whiche is the mode
ratrice as wel of all mocyons of the mynde,
called affectes, as of al actes proceedig of mā.
Here it sufficiently appereth (as I sup
pose) of what estimation Beneuolence is.

Now wyl I endeuour me to recreate the spi
rites of the diligente reader, with some delect
table histories, wherein is anye noble remem
braunce of this vertue Beneuolence, that
the worthynes therof may appere in a more
playne declaracion: For in euerie disciplyne,
example is the beste instructour. But fyrste
I wyl aduertise the reader, that I wyl
nowe wryte of Beneuolence onely, whiche
is most vniuersal, wherein is equalitee with
out singular affection oz acceptance of per
sonages.

And

And here it is to be noted, that if a gouer-
nour of a publyke weale, iudge, or any other
minister of iustice, do geue sentence agaynste
one that hath transgressed the lawes, or pun-
nisheth him accordyng to the qualitee of his
trespas: Beneuolence therby is not any thyng
perpethed: for the condemnation or punish-
ment, is eyther to reduce hym that erreth in
to the traine of vertue, or to preserve a mul-
titude from damage, by punishyng men in
feare, that be prone to offende, by dyng the
sharpe correction, that they beholde an other
to suffre. And that maner of seueritee is tou-
ched by the prophete Dauid in the fourthe
psalme, sayyng in this wyse: Be you angry,
and loke that you syn not. And Culla saith
in his fyrst boke of Officio: It is to be wyl-
led, that they, whiche in the publyke weale
haue any auctoritee, may be like to the lawes
whiche in correctyng be lad onely by equitee,
and not by wyathe or displeasure.

That yu
since neuer
lacke be-
nevolence.

Maepnes
of iustice.

And in that maner, whan Choz, Dathan,
and Abiron, moued sedicion agaynste Moys-
ses, he prayed god, that the erthe moughte o-
pen and swalowe them, consideryng that
the fury of the people mought not be by any
other meanes asswaged, ne they kepte in due
rule or obedience.

Elias, the holy prophete of god, dyd hys
owne handes putte to drathe the priestes of Belpas,
the Idoll of Baal, yet ceased he not with fa-
rynge, prayyng, longe and teduous pylgry-
mages,

Governour.

images, to pacifye the displeasure that God
toke agaynste the people of Israel. But to
retourne to Beneuolence.

¶ Moyses, beyng highlye entertayned with
Pharao kynge of Egypte, and so muche in
his fauour, by the meanes of the kynes sy
ster, that (as Iosephus saith) he beyng made
captain of a huge army, was sent by Phar
rao agaynste the Ethiopians oz Moories,
where he made suche exploiture, that he not
onelye achieved his enterpryse, but also had
gauen vnto hym for his prowes, the kynes
doughter of Ethiopia to be hys wyfe, with
great abundance of riches. And also for his
endettour, prowes, and wilcome, was much
esteemed by Pharao and the nobles of E
gypte, so that he moughte haue lyued there
continually in muche honour and wealth, yf
he wold haue preferred his singular auayle,
befoze the vniuersal weale of his owne kyn
rede oz family. But he inflamed with fer
uent beneuolence oz zeale towarde them, to
redeeme them out of their miserable bōdage,
chose rather to be in the dangerous indigna
tion of Pharao, to committe his person to
the changeable myndes of a multitude, and
they make vnstable, to passe great and long
iourneys through desertes, replenished with
wyld beasts and venemous serpentes, to
suffre extreme hunger and thyrste, lackynge
often tyme not onely vitayle, but also frethe
water to drynke: than to bee in a palayce of
Phar

Pharao, where he shoulde haue ben satisfed with honour, riches, and ease, and all other thynges pleasant.

¶ Who that redeth the boke of Exodi, shall fynde the charitee of this man wonderful.

For whan almighty god, byng greivously wrothed with the childzen of Israel, for their ingratitude, for as much as they often times murmured against hym, and vneth mought he kepte by Moyses from ydolatrie, he sayde to Moyses: That he wolde destroye them bitterly, & make hym ruler of a muche greater and better people. But Moyses bycyming in a mercifulous charitee towards them, sayde to god: This people good lord, haue moste greivously synned, yet either forgyue them this trespas, or yf ye doe not, stryke me cleane out of the boke that he wrote. And diuers other tymes he importunately cryed to god for the sauegarde of them, not withstandinge that many tymes they concluded to haue slayne hym, if he hadde not bene by his wysedome, and specially by the power of god preserved.

¶ But peradventure some whiche seke for sterpyng holcs to mainteine their vices, wyl obiecte, sayeng: that Moyses was a holy prophet, and a person elect by predestination, to deliuer the childzen of Israel, out of captiuitie, wherby he coulde not haue doone if he had not ben of suche patience and charitee.

Therefore let vs see what examples of irons
blable

Govermour

blable beneuolence we can fynde among the gentiles, in whome was no vertue inspired, but that only which natural reason enduced.

Pacience ¶ When a furious and wylful yonge man in a sedition, had stricken out one of the eyes of kynge Licurgus, the people wolde haue slayne hym, and the kynge woulde not suffre them, but had hym home to his house, and by suche wyle meanes corrected the yonge man, that at the last he brought him to good maners and wylsedom.

¶ Also the same Licurge, to the entente that the effect of his beneuolence, towarde the common weale of hys countrey mought perlast and contynue, and that his excellent laws, beyng stablyshed, shulde neuer be alterate, he dyd let sweare al hys people: that they should change no parte of his laws, vntyl he were returned, saynyng to theim, that he wold goe to delphos. where Apollo was chiefely honoured, to consulte with that god, what seemed to hym to be added to, or mynyshed of those laws, whiche also he feigned to haue receyued of the sayde Apollo. But fynally he went into the Isle of Crete, where he contynued and dyed, commaundyng at his death, that his bones should be cast into the sea, lest yf they were brought into Lacedemonia hys countrey, the people shulde thinke them selfe of their othe and promys discharged.

codrus
kynge of
Athenes.

¶ Semblable loue Codrus the last kynge of Athenes, had to hys cuntrey. For where the people

people called Dores, whom some thynke to be nowe Sicilians, wolde aduenge their old grudges against the Athenienses, they demaunded of some of their goddes, what successe shoulde happen, if they made any warres. charitie.

Unto whom answer was made, that if they slew not the king of Athenienses, they shuld than haue the victorie. When they came to the fild, strypte commaundement was giuen amonge them, that aboue all thyng, they shulde haue good awaite of the kynge of Athens, whiche at that tyme was Alcibiades. But he before knowyng the answer made by the Dores, and what commaundement was giuen to the armye, dyd put of his princely habite of robes, and in apparayle all ragged and rent, carryng on his necke a bundel of wygges, entred into the hoste of his enemies, and was slayne in the prayse by a souldiour, whome he wounded with a hoke purposely. But whā it was perceyued and knowen to bee the corpe of kynge Alcibiades, the Dores all dismayed departed from the fild, without proferreng battayle. And in this wyse the Athenienses, by the vertue of their most beneuolēt king, who for the saufe garde of his countrey, wyllyngly dyed, were clerly deliuered from basel.

A noble Alcibiades, howe worthy had you bene, if god had bene pleased, to haue abonden the reparation of mankynde, that in the habite and relligion of a christen prynce, ye might

might haue shewed your wonderful benes-
uolence and courage for the sauegarde of
christen men, and to the noble example of
Curtius, other princes:

Curtius, a noble knight of the Romains
hadde no lesse loue to his countrey than Co-
drus. For soone after the beginnyng of the
rite, there hapned to be a greater the quare,
and after there remayned a greete del or pyt
without bottome, whiche to beholde was
horrible and lothsome, and ouer of it proce-
ded such a dainpe or ayre, that corrupted al
the citee with pestilence. Wherfore whanne
they had counsayled with such idols as they
then worshipped, answere was made, that
the erthe shoulde not close, vntyl there were
into it the moste precious thyng in the citee.
Whiche answere receiued, there was thow-
wen in riche iewelless of golde and preci-
ous stone: but all auayled not. At the laste
Curtius, beyng a yonge and goodlye gentyl
man, consideryng that no richesse thowen
in, profited, finallye coniected, that the lyfe
of man, was aboue all thynges moste precy-
ous, to the entente the residue of the people
might be saued by his onelye deathe, he ar-
med hym selfe at al poyntes, and sittynge on
a trousser, with his swerde in his hande redye
drawen, with a valiante and fyerse courage
enforced his horse to leape into the del or pit,
and forthewith it ioynded together, and clos-
ed, leauynge onely a signe where the pyte
was,

was, whiche longe after was called Cretus lake.

¶ I passe ouer the two Darius, Marcus Regulus, and many other princes and noble menne, that for the weale of their countrey dyed wyllyngly. And nowe wyl I speake of such as in many other formes haue declared their Benciuolence.

¶ Xenophon the discipule of Plato wrote the lyfe of Cretus kynge of Persia moste elegantely, wherein he expresseth the figure of an excellent gouernoz or capitaine: he sheweth there, that Cretus kynge of Lidia, whome Cyrus hadde taken prisoner, subdued hys countrey, and possessed his treasure, sayde on a tyme to Cyrus, whan he behelde hys liberalitee: That suche largesse as he vsed shulde bringe hym in pouertee, where if he lysted, he mighte accumulate vpon treasure incomparable. Than Cyrus demanded of Cretus what treasure suppose ye shuld I now haue if durynge the tyme of my reigne. I wolde haue gadzed and kepte money, as ye exhorte me to doo. Than Cretus named a greaite somme. Wel said Cyrus, sende ye some man whome ye beste truste, with Histaspas my seruante. And thou Histaspas, go aboute to my frendes, & shewe them, that I lacke golde toward a certayne busynes: wherefoze I wyl, they send me as much as they can, & that they put it in writing, and sende it sealed by the seruante of Cretus. In the same wyle Cretus

Thenow
er of bene
uolence.

Gouernour.

wrote in a letter, and also that they shulde receiue Histalpa as his counsayloure & frende, and sente it by hym. Histalpa, after that he had done the message of Cyrus, and was returned with the seruant of Cresus, who brought letters from Cyrus frendes, he sayd to Cyrus, O syr, from henceforth loke that ye take me for a man of great substance. For I am hyghlye rewarded with manye greatte gyftes for byngyng your letters. Than Cyrus, at the houre appointed, lad with hym byng Cresus into his campe, saynge to him: nowe beholde here is our treasure: accounts if ye can, howe muche money is redy for me, if I haue neede of anye to occupye. When Cresus behelde, & reckened the innumerable treasure, whiche in sondry partes were layde about the pauillon of Cyrus, he found much moze than he sayde to Cyrus, that he should haue in his treasure, if he hym selfe had gathered and kept it. And whan al appered sufficiently, Cyrus than sayde: Howe thynke you Cresus, haue I not treasure? And ye counsayled me, that I shuld gather and kepe money, by occasion wherof I shulde be enuied & hated of my people. And mozcouer put my trust so seruantes byed to haue rule thereof. But I do all othertwyle, for in makynge my frendes riche, I take them al for my treasure, & haue them moze sure & trusty keepers, both of me and my substance, than I shuld do those, whom I muste trust onely for their wages.

Lozde

T Lord god, what a notable hystorie is this, and worthy to be grauen in tables of golde, considering the vertue and power of Beneuolence therein exprest. For the beneuolente mynd of a gouernour, not onely byndeth the hertes of the people vnto him, with the chain of loue, more ströger than any material bondes, but also gardeth more saufely his person than any toure or garison.

The eloquent Cully sayth in his offices, Off. iiii.
A liberal hearte is cause of Beneuolence, although perchaunce power somtyme lacketh, Contrary wyle, he saith: They that desire to be feared, nedes muste they drede them, of whom they be feared.

Also Plint the ponget sayth, He that is In pane
epico.
not entronned with chariter, in vayne is he garded with terrour, sens armure with armure is stered. Whyche is ratified by the moste graue philosopher Senecke, in hys booke of merce, that he wate to Nero, where he sayeth: He is muche deceptid, that thynketh a man to be sure, where nothyng Declineth from hym can be saulfe. For with mutuall assurance, suretee is obteyned.

Antoninus Pius, emperour of Rome, so antonin^y much tended the beneuolence of his people, Pius, that whan a greate numbze hadde conspired treason againste him, the senate beyng thet with greuouly meued, endeouored them to punishe the said conspiratours, but the emperour caused the examination to cesse, sayng

I shoulde not nedde to seeke to busily for them that entendeth suche mischief, lest if they founde many, he shoulde knowe, that many haied him. Also whā the people, for as much as on a tyme they lacked corne in their grainedes, wolde haue slayne him with stones, rather thē he wold haue the sedicious persons to be punished, in his owne personne declared to them the occasyon of the scarcitee, wherewith they beyng pacified, euerye man helde hym contented.

Kynge
Philip.

I hadde almost forgotten a notable and worthy remembraunce of Kynge Philip, father to great kynge Alexander. It was on a tyme to hym reported, that one of his capytaynes had menacing wordes towarde him, wherby it semed he intended somme damage towarde his personne. Wherfore his counsaile aduised hym, to haue good awaite of the sayd capytayne, and that he were put vnder ward. To whom the kynge answered, If any parte of my body were sicke, or els sore, whether shoulde I therfore cut it from the residue, or caste it frome me, or els endeuour my selfe, that it mought be healed? And than he called for the sayd capytayne, and so entertayned hym with samplarytee and bounteous rewardes, that euer after he had hym more assured and loyal, than euer he was.

Agelilaus

Agelilaus, king of Lacedemonia, to hym that demanded, howe a kynge mought moste surely gouerne his realme, withoute doubt

diours of a garde to his person, answered,
If he reigned ouer his people, as a father do
eth ouer his childzen.

C The citee of Athenes, from whence issued
al excellent doctrine and wisdom, duringe **The. xxx.**
the tyme that it was gouerned by those per- **tyrānes of**
sones, vnto whome the people mought haue a **athenes.**
familiar accesse, and boldly expounde their
griefes and domages, prospered maruay-
lously, and durynge a longe season reigned in
honour and weale. Afterwarde the Lacede-
mons. by the mutabilitie of fortune, vanquis-
shed them in battayle, and committed the ci-
tie of Athenes, to the keepynge of. xxx. of their
owne capitaynes, which were for their pride
and auarice called tyzannes. But nowe se
howe lyttel suretee is in greate noumbe of
strengthe, where lacketh Beneuolence. These
xxx. tyzannes were continuallye enuironed with
sundry garisones of armed men, which lackig be
was a terrible visage, to people that before
lyued vnder the obedience of their lawes
only. Finally the Athenienses by feare being
put frome their accustomed accesse to their
gouernours to require iustice, and therewith
beyng fatigate as men oppressed with con-
tinuall iniurye, toke to them a desperate cou-
rage, and in conclusion expelled oute of the
citee al the sayd tyzannes, and reduced it into
hir pristinate gouernaunce.

C What misery was in the life of Dionysie
the tyzan of Sicyle: who knowinge, that his
people

Governour.

people desired his destruction, for his rancour and crueltie wold not be of any man Maue, but first caused his owne daughters to clyp his beard: And afterwarde also mistrustinge them, he hym selfe with a byrennyng cole seared the heares of his bearde: and yet finallye was destroyed.

Alexander **phereus.** In like wretchednesse was one Alexander, prince of a citee called pherea: for he had wyng an excellent faire wyfe, not onelye excluded al men from hir company, but also as ofte as he wolde lye with hir, certayne personnes shoulde go befoze hym with torches, and he folowing with his swerd redy drawe, wolde therewith enter the bedde, coffers, and al other places of his chambze, leaste anye man shoulde be there hydde to hym, to the entente to slea hym. And that not withstandyng, by the procurement of his sayde wyfe (who at the laste fatigate with his moste solyphe ielousy, couerted hir loue into hatred) he was slayne by his owne subiectes.

Now dothe it appere, that this reuerende vertue Beneuolence, is of all menne, moste specially of gouernours and men of honour, incomparably befoze other, to be embraced.

The treasure of a gentyl countenance, sweete answers, ayde in aduersitee, not with money onely, but also with study and diligente endeuour, can neuer be walled, ne the loue of good people therby acquired, can be from their heartes in any wyse separate. And here

I make

I make an ende to speake anye more at this tyme of Beneuolence.

¶ Of Beneficence and liberalitee. Cap. x.

Althoughe philosophers, in the description of vertues, haue deuised to set them as it were in degrees, by upping respect to the qualitee & condition of the personne, which is with them adourned, as applyng Magnificence to the substance and estate of princes, and to private personnes Beneficence and Liberalitee: yet ben not these in anye parte defalcate of their condigne payples. For if vertu be an electio annexed vnto our nature, and consisteth in a meane, whiche is determined by reason, and that meane is the verpe myddes of two thinges vicious, the one in surplusage, the other in lacke: than nedes muste Beneficence & Liberalitee bee capital vertues, & Magnificence proceedeth from them, approachyng to the extreme partes. And may be turned into vice, if he lacke the hydel of reason. But Beneficence can by no meanes be vicious & retayne styl his name. Semblablye Liberalitee (as Aristotle saythe) is a measure, as wel in geuyng as in takynge of moneye and goodes. And he is onely liberal, whiche distributeth accordyng to his substance, and where it is expediet. Therfore he ought to cōsider, to whom he should geue, how much, and when.

aristotel.
ethico. i.

Vertue
what it is

Beneficence.
Liberalitee.

Consider
ratiōs in
geuyng.

P. iiii.

For

Gouernour.

For lyberaltee taketh his name of the substance of the personne, from whome it proce-
deth. For it resteth not in the quantitee or qua-
litye of thynges that bee geuen, but in the na-
tural disposition of the gyuer.

Alexander had vanquished Darius in a battaile, one of
his souldiours brought vnto him the heade
of an enemy that he had slayne, whiche the
kinge thankesfully, & with swete countenance
receyued, and takynge a cuppe of golde fil-
led with good wine, sayd vnto the souldiour,
In olde tyme a cuppe of golde was the re-
warde of such vertue, as thou haste shewed,
whycher semblably thou shalt receyue. But
whan the souldiour for shamefastnes refused
the cup, Alexander added vnto it these wo-
rdes. The custome was to geue the cuppe em-
ptye, but Alexander geueth it to the full of
wyne, with good handsel.

Wherwith he expressed his liberal herte,
and as muche comforted the souldiour, as if
he had gyuen to hym a great citee.

Liberal

Whereouer, he that is lyberalle, neglec-
teth not his substance or goodes, ne gyueth
it to al men, but vseth it so, as he maye conti-
nually helpe therwith other, & getteth whan,
and where, and on whome it oughte to bee
employed. Therefore it maye be sayd, that he
vseth euery thyng beste, that exerciseth ver-
tue, whiche is to the thyng moste appropried.
For riches is of the nature of thynges, that
may

may be eyther good or euyl, whyche is in the arbitrement of the gener. And for that cause Liberalitee and Beneficence be of such affinitie, that the one may neuer from the other be separate. For the imployme[n]te of money is not Liberalitee, if it be not for a good end or purpose.

The noble emperours Antonine and Alexander Seuerus, gaue of the reuenues of the empire innumerable substance, to the reedifyinge of citees and common houses decayed for age, or by earthquakees subuerted, wherin they practised Liberalitee & also Beneficence.

But Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, Helio gabalus, and other semblable monsters, whiche exhausted and consumed infinite treasures in bozdel houses and places, where abominacions were vsed, also in enrichynge flaves, concubines, and haudes, were not named liberal, but suffered therefore perpetual reproche of writers, beyng called deuourers and wasters of treasure. Wherfore in as much as Liberalitee holpe resteth in the geuyng of money, it sometyme colouryth a vice: But Beneficence is neuer taken but in the better parte, and (as Tully saith) is taken out of vertue, where Liberalitee commeth out of the coffe[r].

Also where a man distributeth hys substance to many persons, the lesse Liberalitee shall he vse to other: so with bounteousnes, bountee is minished. Onely they that be cal

alexander
& liberall
antonine
empe
rours.

Prodiga
litee.

led beneficial, and doe vse the vertue of Beneficence, whiche consisteth in counsaylinge and healyng other with anye assistance in tyme of neede, that alway finde to adiutours and suppoztors of their gentyl courage. And doublelesse, that maner of gentylnesse, that consisteth in labour, study, and diligence, is moze comendable, and extendeth further, and also may moze profit persons, thā that whiche resteth in rewardes and expences. But to returne to liberalitee.

Prodigalities.

What a greater folly may be, thā that thige that a man moste gladly dothe, to endeuoure hym with al study, that it may no longer bee done: Wherefoze Culli calleth them prodigall, that in inordinate feastes and banquettes, vaine playes, and huntinges, doe spende all theire substance, & in those thinges, wherof they shal leaue but a shorthe or no remembrance. Wherefoze to resorte to the counsaile of Aristotle befoze expressed: Liberalitee. in a noble mā specially, is comended, although it somewhat excede the termes of measure: And if it be wel and duely employed, it acquirith perpetuall honour to the geuer, and muche fruite and singuler commoditee therby encrease. For where honeste and vertuous personages be aduanced, and wel rewarded, it styrreth the courages of menne, which haue any sparke of vertu, to encrease therein with al theire force and endeuoure. Wherefoze nexte to the helppynge and relieuyng

pyng of a communaltee, the greater parte of Liberalities is to be employed on men of vertu and good qualittes, wherein is requirred to be a good election and iugemente, that for hope of rewarde or fauoure, vnder the cloke of vertue, be not hyd the moste mortal payson of flattery.

The true description of amities or frendshipp. Cap. xi.

I haue al redy treated of Beneuolence and Beneficence generally. But for as much as frendship, called in latin amicitia, comprehendeth both those vertues more specially, and in an hygher degree, and is nowe so infrequente or straunge amonge mortall men, by the tyranny of couetise or ambition, whiche haue longe reigned, and yet doe, that amities may now vneth be knowen, or found throughout the worlde, by them that seeke for her as diligently, as a mayden wold seeke for a smal syluer pyne in a great chambre, strawed with whyte rushes. I wyl therefore bozowe so muche of the gentil reder, though he be nyghe weery of this longe matter, ha: raine of eloquence and pleasant sentece, and declare somewhat by the way, of veray and true frendshippe. Whiche perchaunce maye be an allectiue to good men, to seeke for their semblable, on whome they maye practyse amities. For as Culli saythe, Nothinge is
more

Et. off. i.

Gouernour.

more to be loued, or to bee ioyned together, than similitude of good maners or vertues: wherein be the same or semblable studies, the same wylls or desyres: in them it hapneth, that one in an other as muche delyteth as in hym selfe. But nowe let vs enserche, what frendshyp or amitee is.

Aristotle saith: frendshyp is a vertue or ioyne with vertue. Whiche is affirmed by Culli, saynge: frendshyp can not be withoute vertue, ne but in good men onely. Who be good men, he after declareth, to bee those persons, whiche so doo beare them selues, and in suche wyse doe lyue, that their faith, suretee, equalitee, and liberalitee, be sufficiently proued. He that there is in them anye couetyse, wylfulnes, or tooledhardinesse, and that in them is greate stabilitie or constancie: them suppose I, as they be taken, to be called good men, whiche do folowe, as muche as men maye, nature the chiefe capitayne or guyde of mans lyfe. Moze ouer, the same Culli defineth frendshyp in this maner, sayng. It is none other thyng, but a perfecte consente of al thynges apperteynyng aswell to god as to manne, with Bencuolence and Charitee. And that he knoweth nothyng geuen of god, excepts sapience, to man more comodious. Which definition is excellent and very true. For in god and al thyng that cometh of god, nothyng is of more greater estimation than loue, called in latine amor, wher:

whereof Amicitia commeth, named in englyshe Frendshyp or amitee: the whiche taken awaye from the lyfe of man, no house shal abyde standyng, no field shal be in culture. And that is lyghtly perceiued, yf a man do remembre, what commeth of dissencion and discorde: finallye he seemeth to take the sonne from the worlde, that taketh frendshyp from mans lyfe.

¶ Sens frendshyp can not be but in good men, ne may not be without vertue, we may bee assured, that thereof none euyl maye procede, or therewith any euyl thyng may participate. Wherfore in as muche as it maye bee but in a fewe persones, (good men beyng in a small numbre) And also it is rare and seldome, as al vertues be communelpe, I wyll declare, after the oppynion of philosophers, and partely by commune experience, who amonge good men be of nature moste apte to frendshyp.

¶ Betwene all men that bee good, can not alwaye bee amitee, but it also requireth, that they bee of semblable or muche lyke maners or study, and specially of maners. For grauitee and affabylitee, be euerye of them laudable qualitees. So be Seueritee and Placabylitee. Also Magnificence and liberalitee be noble vertues: And yet Frugalitee, which is a sobrenesse or moderacion in luyng, is, and that for good cause of all wyse men extolled, yet where these vertues and qualy-

Gouernour

less be separatly in sundrye persones assembled, may wel be perfect conoord, but frendeshipp is there seldome or neuer. For that, wht the one for a vertue imbraceth, the other contemneith, or at the leste neglecteth. Wherefore it seemeth, that it, wherein the one despyteth, is repougnante to the others nature. And where is anye repougnance, may bee none amitie, sens frendeshippe is an entier consent of wylles and desyres. Therefore it is seldome seene, that frendeshipp is betwene these persones, A man sturde, of oppnyon inflexible, and of lowe countenance & spech, with hym that is tractable, and with reason perswaded, and of swete countenance and entertainemente. Also betwene hym, whiche is eleuate in auctoritee, and an other of a verie base estate or degree: ye and yf they be bothe in an equall dignitee, yf they be desyrous to clymbe, as they doo ascende, so frendshippe for the moze parte decayeth. For as Tully sayth, in his first booke of offices: What thyng so euer it be, in the which many can not excelle, or haue therein superiortee, therein oftentimes is suche a contention, that it is a thyng of al other mooste difficult, to kepe among them good or vertuous companye: that is as muche to say, as to resayne amonge them frendeshipp and amities. And it is oftentimes sene, that diuers, whiche before they came in auctoritee, were of good and vertuous conditions, tyeing in their prosperities

heretofore were utterly chaged, and despitunge
their olde frendes, set all their study and ple
sure on their newe acquaintance. Wherein
men shal perceyue to be a wonderfull blind
nes, or (as I mought say) a madnesse, if they
note diligently al that I shall herafter write
of frendship. But nowe to resorte to speake
of them, in whom frendship is most frequēt,
and they also thereto be moſte aptly disposed.
¶ Undoubtedly it be ſpecially they, which be
wyſe, and of nature inclined to beneficence,
Liberalitee, and Conſtance. For by wyſe
dome is marked and ſubſtancially determed
the woꝝdes, actes, and demeanure of all men,
betwene whome happeneth to be anye enter
couſe or familiaritee, whereby is engendꝛed
a fauour or diſpoſition of loue. Beneficence
that it to ſaye, mutually puttyng to their ſtu
dy and heaſpe in neceſſary eſſaires, induceth
loue. They that be lyberall, dco withholde
or hyde nothyng from them, whome they
loue, wherby loue encreaſeth. And in them
that be conſtant is neuer miſtruſt or ſuſpi
cyon, noꝝ anye ſurmise or euyl repoꝛte can
withdꝛawe them from their affection. And
hereby frendſhypp is made perpetuall and
ſtable. But if ſimilitude of ſtudy or lear
nyng be ioyned vnto the ſayde vertues,
frendſhypp muche rather hapneth, and the
mutual entetue and conuerſacion is muſ
che moꝛe pleaſant, ſpecially if the ſtudies haue
in them any delectable affection or motion.

For where they be to serious, or full of contention, frendshipp is often tymes assaulted; wherby it is often in peryl. Where the study is elegāt, and the maister illerebrous, that is to say, swete to the reder, the course wherof is rather gentyl perswasyon and quyet reasoninges, than ouer subtyl argumente, or litigious controuersies: there also it hapneth, that the studentes do delite one in another, and be without enuy or malicious contention.

¶ Nowe let vs try out, what is that frendshipp, that we suppose to be in good men. Verily it is a blessed and stable conexion of sundry wylles, makynge of two persons one, in havyng and suffring. And therfore a frende is properly named of Philosophers, the other 3. For that in them is but one mynde and one possession: and that, whych more is, a man more reioyseth at hys frendes good fortune, than at his owne.

¶ Horestes and Hylades, being wonderfull lyke in al features, were taken together, and presented vnto a tyranne, who deade lyke hated Horestes. But whan he behelde them bothe, and wolde haue slayne Horestes only, he coulde not decerne the one from the other: And also Hylades, to deliuer his frend, affirmed, that he was Horestes: on the other parte Horestes, to saue Hylades, denyed, and sayde, that he was Horestes (as the trouthe was) Thus a longe tyme they together cons

tendynge, the one to dye for the other, at the laste so reuoluted the fickle and cruell heart of the tyran, that wondrynge at their meruaylsous frendeshipp, he suffered theim frely to departe, without doyng to them any damage.

A Pirtheas and Damon, two Pythagorens, Pirtheas & Damon. that is to saye, studentes of Pythagoras lernynge, beynge ioyned together in a perfecte frendeshipp: for that one of theim was accused to haue conspired against Dionysse kyng of Sicile, they were both taken and brought to the kyng, who immediatly gaue sentence, that he that was accused, shoulde be put to death. But he desired the kyng, that er he dyed, he moughte retourne home, to set his householdes in order, and to distribute his goodes. Wherat the kyng laughynge, demanded of hym scornfully, what pledge he wolde leaue him, to come againe. At the which wordes, his companion stept forth and sayd, that he wolde remayne there as a pledge for his frend, that in case he came not againe, at the day appointed, he wyllynge wolde lose his heade. Wherby the condycion the tyranne receyued. The yonge man, that shoulde haue dyed, was suffered to departe home to his house, where he did set al thing in order, and disposed his goodes wisely. The day appointed for his retourne was comen, the tyme muche passed. Wherfore the kyng called for him that was pledge. Who came forth the mesur, without semblant of drede, offerynge to

shnde the sentence of the tyranne and with
out grudgeyng, to dye for the saving the life
of his frende. But as the officer of iustice
hadde closed his epen with a herchiefe, and
had drawen hys swerde, to haue striken of
his head, his felowe came rennyng & cryng,
that the daye of his appointmente was not
yet paste: Wherefore he desired the ministers
of iustice to lose his felowe, and to prepare
to doo execution on hym, that hadde geuen
the occasion, wherat the tyranne beyng all
abashed, commaunded bothe to be brought
to his presence, and whan he had enoughe
wondred at their noble hertes, and their con
stance in verpe frendship, he offring to them
greate rewardes, desired theim to receiue
him into their company, and so doing them
much honour, dyd set them at libertee.

¶ Undoubtedly that frendshyppe, whiche
doth depende either on profite, or els on ples
sure, if the habilitie of the person, whiche
enoughthe be profitable, dooe faile or
diminish, or the disposition
of the personne, whiche
shuld be pleasaunt, do
change or appaie,
the feruentnesse
of loue ces
seth, and
than is there no
frendshyppe.

✱

Ch

The wonderfull historie of Titus & Silippus, and wherby is fully declared the figure of perfectie amities. Lap. xii.

BUt nowe in the middes of my labour, as it wer to pause and take breath, and also, to recreate the reders, wyllyche fastigate with lōg p̄ceptes, desire varietie of matter, or some new pleasant fable of historie, I wyl schew a right goodly exāple of frendship, whiche example studiously red mal minister to the reders singular pleasure & also incredible comfort to practise amitie.

There was in the citee of Rome a noble senator, named Fulvius, who sente his son, called Titus, beyng a childe, to the citee of Athenes in Grece (which was the fountaine of all maner of doctrine) there to lerne good letters: and caused him to bee hosted with a worthy man of that citee, called Thymenes. This Thymenes hapened to haue also a son, named Silippus, who not onely was equal to the sayd yonge Titus in yeres, but also in stature, proportion of body, colour, & colour of visage, countenance and speache. The two children were so like, that without muche difficultie it could not be discerned of their propre parentes; whiche was Titus from Silippus, or Silippus from Titus: These two yong gentlemen, as they seemed to be one in forme & personage, so shortly after acquaintance, the same nature wrought in

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ther hertes such a mutual affectiō, that their willes and appetites daily more and more so confederated them selues, that it seemed none other, whan their names were declared, but that they hadde onely chaunged their places, yllapng (as I mought say) out of the one body, & entrynge into the other. They together, and at one tyme went to their learninge & studye, at one tyme, to their meales and refection, they delited bothe in one doctrine, and profyted equally therein, finally they together so increased in doctrine, that within a fewe yerres, fewe within Athens mought be compared vnto them. At the laste dyed Thymes, which was not onely to his son, but also to Titus cause of muche sorowe and heuynesse. Gylippus, by the goodnes of his father was knowen to be a mā of greate substance: wherfore there were offred to hym great and rich marriages. And he than being of ripe yeres, & of an hable & goodly personage, his frendes, kynne, and alies exhorted him busily to take a wyfe, to the entent he mought encrease hys lignage and progenye. But the yonge man, heauing his hert al redy wedded to hys frend of lre, and his mynde fixed to the studye of philosophy, fearinge that marriage shulde be the occasion to seuer him bothe from the one and the other, refused of longe tyme to be perswaded, vntyl at the laste, partely by the importunate callinge one of his kinsmen, partely by the consente and aduise of hys
Dew

here frend Titus, therto by othyr desired, he
 assented, to marry such one as shuld like him.
 What shal nede any wordes els his frends found
 a yong gentil woman, which in equalitee of
 peres, vertuous condicions, nobilitie of bloud,
 beautee, and sufficient richesse, they thought
 was for suche a yonge man apt & conuenient.
 And whan they and his frendes vpon the co
 uenantes of mariage were throughtlye accord
 ded, they counsayled Scippus to repaire vnto
 the maiden, and to beholde howe her pers
 one contented him, And he so doyng, found
 hir in euery fourm and condicion, accordyng
 to his expectation and appetite, wherat he
 much reioysed, and became of hir amorous,
 in so muche as manye and often tymes, leas
 uynge Titus at his study, he secretly repays
 red vnto hir. Notwithstandyng the seruente
 lone that he had to his frende Titus, at the
 last surmounted shamefastnes. Wherfore he
 disclosed to him his secreete tourneys, & what
 delectacion he toke in beholding the excellent
 beautee of hir, whom he purposed to marrye,
 and howe with hir good maners and swete
 enterteinements, she hadde constrained hym
 to be hir louer. And on a tyde, he haupnge
 with him his frende Titus, went to his lady
 of whom he was receiued moste toponsele.
 But Titus furthewith as he behelde so bes
 uenlye a personage, adourned with beautee
 inexplicable, in whose visage was moste as
 miable countenaunce, myxt with maidenly

Chamefastnes, and the rare and sobye wordes, wel couched, whiche issued out of his pretie mouth. Titus was therat abashed, & had the herte throught perced with the fyre dart of blind Lypide, of the whych wounde the anguish was so exceding and vehement, that neyther the study of philosophy, neither the remembrance of his dere frend Cissippus, who so muche loued and trusted him, coude any thyng withholden hym frome that vnkynde appetite, but that of force he muste loue inordinately that lady, whom his sayde frend had determined to mary. Al be it with incredible paines he kepte his thoughtes secret, vntil that he & Cissippus were returned vnto there lodgings. Then the miserable Titus, withholding hym as it were to his study, al tormented and oppressed with loue, threwe him self on a bed, and there rebuking his owne most despitiful unkindnes, whiche by the sodaine sight of a maiden, he had conspired against his most dere frend Cissippus, against al humanitee & reason cursed his fate of constellation, & wished that he had neuer comen to Athenes. And therewith he sent oute from the bosome of his herte depe and colde sighes, in suche plentie, that it lacked but lytel that his herte ne was ryuen in pices. In dolour & anguish he tossed he him selfe by a certayn space, but to no maner wold he discover it. But at the laste, the peine became so intolerable, that wold he or no, he was so inforced

to kepe his bed, being for lacke of slepe & other
 naturall sustenance, brought in such feble-
 nes, that his legges mought not susteine his
 body: Scippus, mistyng his dere frend Ci-
 tus, was muche abashed, and hearinge that
 he lay sicke in his bed, hadde forthwith his
 hert perced with heuines, and with all speede
 came to him, where he laye. And beholdyng
 the rosial colour, whiche was wont to be in
 his visage, tourned into salowe, the resplende-
 pale, his ruddy lippes wan, & his eyes lide
 holow, mought vnto kepe him selfe frome
 wepyng: but to the entent he wolde not dys-
 comfort his frend Citus, dissimuled his he-
 uines, & with a comfortable countenance de-
 maunded of Citus, what was the cause of
 his disease, blaming him of unkindnes, that
 he so long had susteined it, without giuyng
 him knowlage, that he mought for him haue
 provided some remedy, if any mought haue
 be gotten, though it were with the dispens-
 ing of al his substance. With whiche wordes
 the mortal lighes renewed in Citus, and the
 salte teares brast out of his eyes, in such a
 bundaunce, as it had ben a lande floode ren-
 nyng downe of a mountayne after a storme.
 That beholdings Scippus, & bringe also re-
 solued into teares, most hartely desired him,
 and (as I mought say) conured him, for the
 feruent and entier loue that had bene, and yet
 was betwene them, that he wolde no longer
 hide frome him his griefe, & that there was
 nothing

Q. iiii.

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nothynge to hym so deere or precious (as
 though it were his owne life) that might
 restore Titus to helthe, but that he shoulde
 gladdely, and withoute grutchynge employe
 it, with whiche wordes, obtestacions, and
 teares of gylippus, Titus constrained, all
 blushynge and ashamed, holdynge downe
 his headder, brought furthe with greates diffi-
 cultie his wordes in this wyse.

The wordes of Titus to Gylippus.
 My dere and moste louynge frende, with
 draw your friendly offers, cesse of your cour-
 tisie, refraine your teares and regrettings,
 take rather your knife, & clea me here where
 I lye, or other wise take vengeance on me,

most miserable and false traitour vnto you,
 and of al other moste worthy to suffre most
 shamefull death. For where as god of na-
 ture, lyke as he hath geuen to vs similitude
 in all the parties of our bodye, so had he con-
 ioyned our wilkes, studies and appetites to-
 gyther in one, so that betwen men was neuer
 like concord & loue, as I suppose: And now
 notwithstanding, only with the loke of a wo-
 man, those bondes of loue be dissolved, reason
 oppressed, friendship is excluded, there auaileth
 no wysedome, no doctrine, no fidelitie or
 trust: yf your trust is the cause that I haue
 conspired againste you this treason. Alas
 gylippus, what enuious spirit meued you
 to bring me with you to hir, whome ye haue
 chosen to bee your wyfe, where I receyued
 this payson? I saye gylippus, where was
 than

than your wisdom, that ye remembred not
the fragilitie of our commune nature: what
neded you to call me for a wptnesse of your
pinate delities? Why wolde ye haue me
see that, whyche pou your selfe coulde not be
holde without rauynynge of mynde and car
nall appetite? Alas, why forgatte ye, that
oure myndes and appetites were euer ene:
and that also what so ye lyked was euer to
mee in lyke degree pleasaunte, what wyl ye
more? Silipp? I saye, your trust is the cause
that I am intrapped. The rayes of beames
issuing from the eyen of hie, whom ye haue
chosen, with the remembrance of hie incom
parable vertues, hath thylled throughtoute
the middes of my heart, and in such wyse
brenneth it, that aboue all thynges I desire
to be out of this wretched and mooste vnkynnd
lyfe, whyche is not worthy the companie of
so noble and loryng a frende as ye be. And
therewith Titus concitued hys confessyon,
with so profounde and bitter a sygh, recey
ued with teares, that it seemed, that all his
bodye shoulde be dissolued and relented into
salte dropes.

¶ But Silippus, as he were therewith not
thyng astonied or discontented, with an as
sured countenaunce, and mery regarde, im
bracing Titus, and byssynge him, answered
in this wyse: Why Titus, is this your onely
syphenes and grieve, that ye so vncurteislye
haue so longe conceyld, and with muche
more

The new
swere of
Silippus

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more vnhydenesse kepte frome me, than ye
haue conceiued it? I knowlage my folye,
wherwith ye haue with good righte imbray
ded me, that in shewing to you hir, whome I
loued, I remembred not the commune estate
of our nature, ne the agreablenes, oꝝ (as I
mought saie) the vnitee of our two appeis
tes. Surely that defaute can be by no reson
excused. Wherefoze it is onely I, that haue
offended. For who maye be right proue, that
ye haue trespassed, that by the ineuitable
stroke of Cupides darle, are thus buterlye
wounded? Thinke ye me suche a foole oꝝ ig
norant person, that I knowe not the power
of Venus, where she liketh to shewe hir im
portable violence? Haue not ye well resisted
agaynste suche a goddesse, that for my sake
haue streuen with hir almost to the death?
What more loialtee oꝝ trowth can I require
of you? And I of that vertue, that I maye
resist against celestiall influence, preordinate
by prouidence diuine? If I so thoughte,
what were my wittes? where were my stus
dy so longtyme pent in noble Philosophy?
I confesse to you Titus, I loue that maide
as much as any wise man mought possible:
and tooke in hir companie more deelyte and
pleasure than of all the treasure and landes
that my father left me, whyche ye know was
right abundant. But nowe I perceiue, that
the affliction of lone towards hir surmouys
eth in you aboue measure, what that I thinke

A of a wanton luste, or sodayne appetite in
 you, whome I haue euer knowne of graue
 and sad disposicion, inclined alwaye to ho-
 neste doctrine, fleing al vayne dalpance and
 dishonourable possetyne: Shal I imagine to be
 in you any malice or fraude, sens fro the ten-
 der tyme of oure childehode, I haue alwaye
 founden in you, my swete frende Titus, sus-
 che a conformitee with al my maners, appes-
 ites, and desyres, that neuer was sene be-
 twene vs any maner of contencion: Naye
 god forbede, that in the frendshipp of Gissi-
 pus and Titus, shulde happen anye suspici-
 on: or that any fantasy wuld peris my head,
 whereby that honourable loue betwene vs,
 shulde be the mounfenance of a crumme pes-
 rilled: Naye nay Titus, it is, as I haue sayd
 the onely prouidence of god: he was by him
 from the hegyning prepared to be your las-
 dy and wife. For suche seruient lotie entresh
 not into the herte of a wyse man and vertu-
 ous, but by a diuine disposicion: whereat
 if I woulde bee discontented or grudge, I
 woulde not onely be iniuste to you, withhol-
 dyng that from you, whiche is vndoubted-
 ly yours, but also obstinate and repugnante
 agaynst the determination of god, whiche
 shall neuer be founden in Gissippus. There-
 fore gentyl frende Titus, dismaye you not
 at the chaunce of loue, but receiue it ioyous-
 lye with me, that am with you nothyng
 dyscontented, but meruaylous gladde,
 sense

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sees it is my happe to fynde for you such a lady, with whome ye shall lyue in felicitie, and receiue fruite to the honoz and comforte of al your lignage. Here I renounce to you clerely al my title and interest, that I nowe haue or mought haue in the faire maiden.

Call to you your pūstinate courage, washe cleane your visage and even thus bewepie, and abandone al heynesse, the daye appoynted for our marriage approacheth: let vs consulte, howe without difficultee ye may holpe attaine youre desires. Take hede, this myne aduise, ye knowe well, that we two bee so lyke, that beyng a parte and in one apparell, fewe men doo knowe vs. Also ye doo remembre, that the custome is that not with standyng any ceremonie doone at the time of the spousalles, the marriage not with standyng is not confirmed, vntyl at nyght, that the husbāde putteth a ryng on the finger of his wyfe, and vnloseth hyr gyrdelle.

Wherefore I my selfe wil be present with my frendes, and persourne all the partes of a byde. And ye shall abyde in a place secreete, where I shall appoyne you, vntil it be nyght. And than shall ye quickly conuey youre selfe into the maydens chambere: and for the similitude of our personages, and of oure apparell, ye shall not be espied of the women, whiche haue with none of vs any acquaintance, and shortlye get you to bed, and putte your owne ryng on the maydens lynger, and
vnde

undo his gydel of virginitee, and doe all o-
ther thyng, that shal be to your pleasure. We
nowe of good cheere Titus, and comforte
your selfe with good refections and solace,
that this wann and pale colour, and your
cheekes meagre and leane, be not the cause of
your discourteage. I knowe wel, that ye ha-
uynge your purpose. I shall be in obloquie
and derpsion of all men, and so hated of all
my kynned, that they shal seke occasion to ex-
pelle me out of this citee, thinking me to be
a notable reproche to al my family. But let
god therin warke. I force not what paine
that I abyde, so that ye my frende Titus,
may be saufe, and pleasantly enjoy your de-
sires, to the encreasynge of your felicitye.

¶ With these wordes Titus beganne to
meue, as it were out of a dreame, and doub-
tyng, whether he heard Silippus speake, or
elles sawe but a vision, laye styll as a man
abashed. But whan he behelde the teares,
trickelynge downe by the face of Silippus,
he than recomforted him, and thankyng him
for his incomparable kyndnesse, refused the
benefite that he offred, sayynge: that it were
better, that a hundred suche vnkynde wret-
ches, as he was, shulde perishe, than so no-
ble a man, as was Silippus, shulde susteine
reproche or damage. But Silippus effectuo-
nely comforted Titus, and therewith sware
and protested, that with free and glad will
he wolde that this thyng shulde be in for-
afoze

aforesayd accomplished, and therewith imbrac-
 ed and sweetely kissed Titus. Who percey-
 uinge the matter sure, and not feigned, as a
 man not sicke, but onely awaked out of hys
 slepe, set him selfe vp in his bed: the quicke
 blud somewhat resorted vnto hys visage, &
 after a litel good meates and drinckes taken
 he was shortly and in a fewe dayes restored
 into his olde facion and fygure. To make
 the tale shorte. The daye of mariage was co-
 men. Silippus, accompanied with hys allies
 and frendes, came to the hous of the dama-
 sel, where they were honozably and ioyously
 feasted. And betwene him and the mayden
 was a swete entertaimmet, whiche to behold,
 all that were presente, toke muche pleasure
 and comforte, praisynge the beautee, goodly-
 nesse, vertue, and curtesy, whiche in this cou-
 ple wer excellent aboue all other, that they
 had ouer seene. What Mal A saye more? the
 couenantes were rad and sealed, the dowar
 appoynted, and all other bargaynes conclu-
 ded, and the frends of cyther part toke their
 leaue & departed: the bzide, with a fewe wo-
 men (as was the custome) brought into hie
 chambze: thā as it was before agreed, Titus
 conueyed him selfe, after Silippus returned
 to his hous, or perchance to the chambze ap-
 popnted for Titus, nothyng sorrowfull, al-
 though that he hertely loued the mayden but
 with a glad herte and countenance, that he
 had so recovered his frends from death, and
 so

so wel brought him to the effecte of his desire. Howe is Titus in bed with the mayden, not knowne of hir, nor of anye other, but for Silippus. And firste he strictly demanded hir, yf that she loued him, and dayned to take him for his husbände, forsakyng al other, Whych she all blushynge with an eye halfe laughynge, halfe mournyng (as in popnt to departe from hir maydenhead, but supposing it to be Silippus that asked hir) affirmed. And than he chascies a keth hir, yf she in ratifyng that promyse, would receiue his rynge, whiche he had there al redy: wherto she consentynge, putteth the rynge on hir finger, and vnloseth hir girdel. What thing els he dyd, they two onely knewe of it. Of one thyng I am sure, that night was to Titus more comfortable, than euer was the longest day of the yere, ye and I suppose a hole yere of dayes. The morowe is comen. Silippus, thinkynge it expediente, that the trouth shuld be discouered, assembled all the nobilitie of the citee at his own hous, where also by appointement was Titus, who amonge them had these woordes, that dooe folowe.

¶ My frendes Athenienses, there is at this thozation time shewed amonge you an example, al of times most incredible, of the diuine power of ho: to Athens notable loue, to the perpetual renome and cases. somendacion of this noble citee of Athens, wherof ye ought to take excellent comforte,
and

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And therfore geue due thākes to god, yf there
certaine amonge you any token of the anti-
cient wisdomē of your moſte noble proge-
nitōs. For what more praiſe may be geuen
to people, than beneuolēce, faithfulnes, and
conſtance: without whom all countreies and
cities be brought vnto deſolacion and ruine,
like as by them they becom proſperous, and
in moſte hygh felicitie. What ſhall I longe
ſarpe you in comectyngē myne intente and
meanynge: ye all knowe, frome whens I
camme vnto this citee, that of aduenture I
founde in the houſe of Chyrenis, hys ſonne
Giliſippus, of mine owne age, and in euerye
thyng ſo like to me, that neither hys father,
nor any other man coulde diſcerne of vs the
one from the other, but by our own inſignes
ment or ſhewyng: in ſo muche as there were
put about our neckes laces of ſundry colōrs
to declare our perſonages. What mutuall
agrement and loue haue ben alway betwene
vs durynge the eghte yeres, that we haue
bene togiſther, ye all be wytnesſes, that haue
ben beholders and wonderers of our moſte
ſweete conuerſacion and conſente of appeti-
tes, wherin was neuer any diſcorde or vari-
ance. And as for my parte, after the deceſſe
of my father, notwithstandinge that there
was diſcended and happened vnto me great
poſſeſſions, faire houſes, with abundaunce
of riches: alſo I beyng called home by the
deſprous and impoſtunate letters of myne

alices

alpes and frendes, whiche be of the most no-
 ble of all the senatours, offered the auances-
 ment to the higheste dignities in the publike
 weale, I wyl not remembre the lamentacions
 of my most natural mother, expressed in his
 tender letters, all be spent and blotted with
 abundance of teares, wherein she accuseth me
 of unkyndnesse, for my longe tarynge, and
 specially now in his most discomfort. But
 al this coulde not remoue me the breadth of
 my wayle from my dere frend gylippus. And
 but by force could not I, nor yet may be dra-
 wen from his swete companye, but yf he ther-
 to wyl consente. I chosynge rather to lyue
 with hym as his companion and felowe ye
 and as hys seruante, rather than to be con-
 sul of Rome. Thus my kindnes hath be wel
 acquitted (oz as I mought saye) redoubted,
 deliuerynge me from the death, yea from the
 most cruel and painefull death of all other,
 I perceiue ye wonder herat noble Athenien-
 ses, and no meruayle. For what personne
 shoulde be so hardye, to attempte anye sur-
 chynge against me, beyng a Romaine, and of
 the noble bloude of the Romaines? Or who
 shoulde be thought so malicious, to slea me,
 who (as all ye be my iudges) neuer trespas-
 sed against any persō within this citee. May-
 nay my frendes, I haue none of you al the-
 suspected, I perceiue you desyre and hartely
 to know, what he was, that presumed to doe
 so cruel & great an enterprise. It was Ioues
 noble

noble Athenienses, the same loue, why the, as
 your poetes doo remembre, did wounde the
 moze parte of al the goddes, that ye doe ho:
 nor, that constrained Iupiter to transforme
 hym selfe in a swan, a bull, and dyuers other
 lphenesses: the same loue that caused Mercu:
 les, the vainquisher and destroyer of Mon:
 sters and Giances, to spinne on a rocke, syt:
 tyng amonge maydens in a womans appar:
 eyle: the same loue that caused to assemble
 al the noble pantes of Asia and Grece in the
 fieldes of Troy: the same loue I say, against
 whose assaults may be found no defence or
 resistance, hath todaynely and vnware str:
 ken me vnto the herte, with suche vehemente
 and myghte, that I had in shorte space dyed
 with most feruent tourmentes, had not the
 incomparable frendshipp of Cissippus holpe
 me. I see, you wold fayne know, who she is,
 that I loued. I wyl no lenger delape you no:
 ble Athenienses: It is Sophronia, the lady,
 whome Cissippus had chosen to haue to his
 wyfe, and whome he moste enterlye loued.
 But whan his moste gentyl hert percepued,
 that my loue was in a muche hygher degree
 than his toward that lady, and that it proce:
 ded nerther of wantonnes, neyther of long
 conuersaion, nor of anye other corrupt desire
 or fantasie, but in an instant, by the onely
 loke, and with suche feruence, that immedi:
 atlye I was so cruciate, that I desired, & in
 al that I mought prouoked deyth to take me.

He by his wisdom perceined, (as I doe
not but that ye doe) that it was the very pro-
uision of god, that he shuld be my wyfe, and
not his, wherto he geuinge place, & more este-
myng true frendshipp, than the loue of a wo-
mā, wher vnto he was indued by his frends
& not by violence of Cupide constrained as I
am, hath willingly graunted to me the inter-
est that he had in the damosell. And it is I
Citius, that haue verily wedded her, I haue
put the ryngs on hir finger, I haue vndone
the gyrdell of chamefastenes, what wyll ye
more, I haue lye with hir, and confirmed
the Matrimony, and made hir a wyfe.

At these wordes al they that were present
began to murmur, and to cast a dysdainous
and greuous loke vpon Cissippus. Then
spake agayne Citius.

Leave your grudgynge and menspynge
countenaunce, towards Cissippus, he hath
done to you all honour, and no deede of res-
proche. I telle you, he hath accomplyshed all
the partes of a frende: that Loue, whiche
was most certayne, hath he continued.

He knewe, he mought fynde in Grece an o-
ther mayden, and fayre and as ryche as this
that he had cholen, and one perchance, that
he mought loue better. But such a frende as
I was (hauing respect to our similitude, the
longe approued concoorde, also myne estate &
condicion, he was sure to fynd neuer none.
Also the damosell suffereth no dyspergement.

In hys bloude, or hinderunce in his marriage,
 but so much rather aduanced (no dispraise
 to my dere frende Gylippus). Also consider
 noble Athenieses, that I toke hyr not my fa-
 ther lyping, whan ye mought haue suspected
 that as wel hyr eyes as hir besutee, shulde
 haue therto assured me: but sone after my
 fathers decease, whan I far exceded hyr in
 possessions and substance, whan the moste
 notable men of Rome and of Italy, desired
 myne alpaunce, ye haue therfore all cause to
 reioyse and thanke Gylippus, and not to be
 angry, and also to extol his wonderful kind-
 nes towarde me, wherby he hath wonne me
 and all my bloude such frendes to you and
 your citee, that ye maye be assured, to be by
 vs defended agaynst al the worlde: whiche
 beyng considered, Gylippus hath wel deser-
 ued a statue or image of golde, to be set on a
 pylle, in the myddes of your citee, for an ho-
 norable monument, in the remembraunce of
 our incomparable frendshipp, and of the good
 that thereby maye come to your citee. But if
 this perswasid can not satisfie you, but that
 ye wyl imagine anye thyng to the damage of
 my dere frend Gylippus, after my departing
 I make myne arowe vnto god, creator of
 al thyng, that as I hathaue knowlage the-
 of, I shal forthwith resorte hither, with the
 innumerable power of the Romaines, and re-
 uenge hym in such wyse agaynst his enemies
 that al Grece shal speake of it to theyr perpe-
 tual

tual dishonour, shame, and reproche.

And therewith Titus and Silippus rose, but the other for feare of Titus dissembled their malise, making semblaunt, as they had ben with al thyng contented.

Sone after Titus beyng sent for by the auctoritee of the senate and people of Rome, prepared to departe out of Athenes, & wolde fayne haue had Silippus to haue gone with him offering to deuide with him all his substance and fortune. But Silippus, considering howe necessary his counsaile shulde be to the citee of Athenes wolde not depart out of his countrie, notwithstanding that aboue all otherly thynges, he moste desired the company of Titus: wherby he abode also, for the sayd consideration, Titus approued.

Titus with his lady is departed towardes the citee of Rome. Where at their cominge, they were of the mother of Titus, his kinsmen, and of al the senate and people ioyously receiued. And there liued Titus with hys ladye in ioye inexplicable, and had by her manye fayre chylzen: and for his wysedome and learnynge was so highly esteemed, that there was no dygnitie or honourable office within the citee, that he had not with muche fauour and prayse achieved and occupied.

But now let vs resort to silippus, who immediately vpon the departing of Titus, was so maligned at, as well by hys owne kynsmen, as by the frendes of the ladye, that

he, to their seeming shamefully abandoned, leaving him to Titus, that they spared not day: but to vex him with all kindes of reproche, that they could devise or imagine: and first they excluded him out of their counsaile, and prohibited from him all honest company. And yet not being there with satisfied, finally they adiudged him unworthy to enjoy any possessions or goodes, left to him by his parentes, & home he (as they supposed) by his indiscrete friend Myrpe hadde so dyskayned. Wherefore they dyspoiled him of all thinges, and almost naked, expelled him out of the citie. Thus is Cissippus, late wealthy, and one of the moste noble men of Athens, for his kynde hert, banished his owne country for ever, & as a man dismayed, wandering hither & thither, finding no man that wolde socour him, At the last remembryng in what pleasure his freed Titus lyued with hys lady, for whom he suffered these damages, concluded to go to Rome, and declare his infortune to his sayd friend Titus, what shal needs a long tale: in conclusion, with muche paine, colde, hunger, and thirst, he is comen to the citie of Rome, and diligently inquiryng for the house of Titus, at the laste he came to it: but beholding it so beautifull, large, and princely, he was ashamed to approche nigh to it, being in so symple estate and unclad, but standeth by, that in case Titus came forth out of his hous, he mought present hym selfe

to him. He being in this thought, Titus holding his lady by the hande, issued out from his dooze, and takinge their horses to solace them selfe, beheld Silippus, and beholdinge his vyle apparayle, regarded hym not, but passed furthe on theyr waye, wherewith Silippus was soo wounded to the herte, thynkyng Titus hadde contempned his fortune, that oppressed with mortal heuines, fel in a towne, but beyng recovered by some that stode by, thynkyng him to be sicke, forthwith departed, entending not to abide any longer, but as a wild beast to wander abroad in the world. But for weynes he was constrained to enter into an old barne, without the citee, wher he casting him selfe on the bare ground with weppynge & dolorous cryng bewapled his fortune: But most of all accusynge the ingratitude of Titus, for whom he suffred all that misery: the remembrance wherof was so intollerable, that he determined no longer to liue in that anguise & dolour. And therewith drew his knife, purposing to haue slaine him selfe. But euer wisdom (whych he by the study of Philosophy had attained) withdrew hym frome that desperate acte. And in this contention, betwene wisdom and wyl, fatigate with long iourneys and watche, as god wolde haue it, he fel into a depe slepe. His knyfe (wherewith he woulde haue slaine him self) falling down by him. In the meane tyme a commune and notable rustia of these

R.iiii. whych

whiche had robbed and claine a man : was entred into the barne, where Gylippus laye; to the entente to sotozne there al that night. And seinge Gylippus brewept, and his visage replemished with sorowe, and also the naked knife by him, percieued well, that he was a man desperate, & supprised with heauinesse of herte, was werpe of his lyfe : whiche the sayd ruffian takynge for a good occasion to escape, toke the knife of Gylippus, and putting it in the wound of him that was slain, put it all bloudy in the hande of Gylippus, beyng fast a slepe, and so departed. Sone after the deade man beyng founde, the officers made diligent serche for the murderer : at the last they entring into the barne, and findyng Gylippus on slepe, with the bloudy knife in his hande, awaked, him, wherwith he entred agayne into his olde sorowes, complayninge his euil fortune. But whan the officers layd vnto him the deathe of the man, and the harynge of the bloudy knife, thereat reioysed, thanking god, that such occasion was hapned, wherby he shoulde suffre deathe by the lawes, and escape the violence of his owne handes. Wherfoze he denied nothynge that was layde to his charge, desyringe the officers to make haste that he mought be shortly out of his lyfe. Wherat they maruayled. As noe report came to the senat, that a mā was slayne, and that a straunger, and a Grecke bozne, was found in such forme, as is before men

mentioned. They forthwith commanded hym
 to be broughte vnto their presence, spyng
 there at that tyme, Titus being thā Consul,
 or in other like dygnitee. The miserable Gisi-
 ppus was broughte to the barre, with bills
 and stoues like a felon, of whom it was
 demaunded, yf he slewe the man, that was
 founden deade. He nothynge denyed, but in
 mooste sorowfull maner cursed his fortune,
 naminge him selfe of al other mooste misera-
 ble. At the laste one demaundyng hym, of
 what countrey he was, he confessed to be an
 Atheniense, and therewith he cast his sorow-
 fulle eyen vppon Titus, with muche indig-
 nation, and brast out into syghes and teares
 abundantly: that beholdinge Titus, and
 espyng by a lyttel signe in his visage, whis-
 che he knewe, that it was his dere frend Gisi-
 ppus, and anone consideryng, that he was
 brought into dispaire by some misadueture
 rose out of his place, where he sate, and fall-
 yng on his knees befoze the Iudges, sayde,
 that he had slayne the man, for olde malice
 that he bare toward him, and that Gisi-
 ppus, beynge a straunger, was gyltlesse, and
 all men mought perceiue, that the other was
 a desperate person. Wherefoze to abbreui-
 ate his sorowes, he confessed the acte, wher-
 of he was innocēt, to thintent that he wold
 lympe his sorowes with deathe. Wherefoze
 Titus desired the iudges, to geue sentence
 on hym, accordyng to hys merites. But gi-
 R. v. sippus

Cippus, perceiuyng his frende Titus (cons-
 trayn to his expectation) to offre hym selfe to
 the deathe, for his saulfe garde, moze impo-
 tunarily cryed to the senat to procede in theyr
 iudgement on him, that was the verye offen-
 der. Titus denyed it, and affirmed with rea-
 sons and argumentes, that he was the mur-
 derer, and not Cippus. Thus they of longe
 tyme, with abundance of teares contended,
 whych of them shuld dye for the other, wher-
 at all the senate and people were wonderlye
 abashed, not knowyng what it mente. The
 murderer in dede, hapned to be in the prayse
 at that tyme, who perceiuyng the meruail-
 lous contenciō of these two persons, whiche
 were bothe innocent, and that it proceeded of
 an incōparable frendshyp, was vehementlye
 prouoked to discouer the trowth. Wherfore
 he brake through the pzeale, and commynge
 before the senate, spake in this wyse.

Noble fathers, I am such a person, whō
 ye knowe haue bene a commune baratour &
 thesē by a longe space of yeres: ye knowe al-
 so, that Titus is of a noble blud, and is ap-
 proued to be alwaye a man of excellent ver-
 tue and wysedome, and neuer was malici-
 ous. This other stranger semeth to be a mā
 fulle of simplicitte, and that moze is, despe-
 rate for some greuous sorowe that he hathe
 taken, as it is to you euident, I saye to you
 fathers, they bothe bee innocent, I am that
 person, that slew hym that is founden dead
 by

by the barne, and robbed hym of his money
 and whan I founde in the barne this stran-
 ger lyeing on slepe, haupnge by hym a naked
 knyfe, I, the better to hide mine offence, dyd
 put the knyfe into the wound of the dead mā,
 & so al bluddy layd it again by this stranger.
 This was my myschecuous deuise to escape
 your iugement. Where vnto now I remitte
 me holly, rather thā this noble mā Titus, or
 this innocēt stranger shuld vntwozthily dye.
 ¶ Hereat all the Senate, and people toke
 comforte, and the noyse of reioysynge heretes
 fylled al the courte. And whan it was fur-
 ther examyned, Gisippus was dyscoured,
 the frendshipp betwene hym and Titus was
 thzoughe out the citee publyshed, extolled,
 and magnified. Wherfoze the senate consul-
 ted of this matter, and fynally at the instance
 of Titus and the people, dyscharged the fes-
 lon. Titus recognised his negligence, in for-
 gettyng Gisippus. And Titus beyng ad-
 uertised of the exile of Gisippus, and the dis-
 spitefull crueltee of hys kynrede, was ther-
 with wonderfull wealthy, and haupnge gisips-
 pus home to this house (where he was with
 incredible ioy receyued of the ladye, whome
 sometyme he shulde haue wedded) honou-
 rably apparayled him: and there Titus offred
 to hym, to vse all his goodes and possessions
 at his owne pleasure and appetite. But gi-
 sippus, desyringe to bee agayne in his pro-
 per countreys, Titus by the consente of the
 senate

Governour.

Senate and people, assembled a great army, and wente with Cissippus vnto Athenes, where he hauyng deliuered to him all those, whypche were causers of banishynge and dyspoptynge of hys frende Cissippus, dydde on them sharpe execucion, and restorynge to Cissippus hys landes and substance, stabilished hym in perpetual quietnes, and so retourned to Rome.

This example in the affectes of frendes shyp expyresseth (if I be not deceiued) the description of frendshyp, engendred by the similitude of age and personage, augmented by the comformitee of maners and studies, and confirmed by the longe continuance of companie.

It wolde be remembred, that frendeship is betwene good men onelye, and is ingendred of an oppynion of vertue. Than maye we reason in this fourme, A good man is so named, because al that he willeth: or dothe, is onely good: in good can be none euyl, therfore nothyng that a good man willethe or dothe, can be euyl. Lykewylse vertue is the affection of a good man, whypche neither willethe nor dothe any thyng that is euyl. And vice is contrary vnto vertue, for in the oppynion of vertue, is neyther euyl nor vice. And veraye amitee is vertue. Wherefore nothyng euyl or vicious maye happen in frendshyp. Therefore in the fyrst election of frendes, resteth all the importaunce, wherfore it wolde

none euil
may be in
friendship

wolde not be without a longe delyberacyon
and profe, and as Aristotle saith, in as longe
tyme as by them bothe, beyng together con-
uerfane, a hole bulshell of salte moughte be
eaten. For oftentimes with fortune (as I Ethic.
late sayd) is chaunged, or at the leaste mini-
shed the feruencyes of that affection accord-
yng as the swete Poete Duide affirmeth,
sayng in this sentence.

Wholes fortune the fauoureth, frendes
thou haste plente.

Duid. de
Don.

The time beig troublous thou art al alone,
Thou seest culuers haue houses made white
and deintce.

To the ruinous towne almost cometh none,
Of emotes innumerable ynneth thou find-
dest one

An emptie barnes, a where faileth substance,
Hapneth no frende, in whome is assurance.

But if any happeneth in euery fortune to
be constant in frendshipp, he is to be made of
aboue al thynges that may come vnto man,
and aboue any other that bee of bloudde or
kynrede, as Cullis saith. For from kynrede
maye be taken Beneuolence, from frendshipp
it can neuer be scuered. Wherefore Beneuo-
lence taken frome kynrede, yet the name of
kynseman remaineth: take it frome frendes-
shipp, and the name of frendshyppe is vtters-
ly perished.

But

How to **C**But sense this lybertee of speche is now
discerne a blurred by flatterers, where they perceyue,
frend fro that assentacion and prayles be abhored: **I**
a flatterer am therefore not well assured, howe a man
nowe a dayes shall knowe or discerne suche
admonycon from flattery, but by one onely
meanes, that is to saye, to remembre that frend
whyp may not be but betwene good me. **Tha**
consider, yf he that dothe admonyshe the, be
him selfe voluptuous, ambitious, covetous,
arrogant, or dissolute, refuse not his admoni-
tion, but by the example of the emperor, **An-**
tonine, thankfully take it: and amende suche
default, as thou perceyvest, dothe geue occasi-
on of obloquy in such maner as the reporter
also by thine example may be corrected. **But**
for that admonicion onely, account hym not
immediatlye, to bee thy frende, untill thou
haue of hym a long and sure experience. **For**
undoubtedly it is wonderful difficile to finde
a man very ambitious or covetous, to be as-
sured in frendshipp. **For** where findest thou
him (saith **Tully**) that wyl not preferre his
noys, great offices, rule, auctoritee, and yf
thesse before frendshipp. **Therefore** saith he, it
is verye harde to finde frendshipp in theym,
that be occupied in acquirng honour, or as
bout the affayres of the publyke weale. **Whi**
the saynge is proued by dayly experience.
For disdeine and contempt be companions
with ambition, lyke as enuy and hatredte be
also his folowers.

The

The diuision of Ingratitude, and
the displaye thereof. Cap. xiii.

The most damnable vice, and moſte a
gainſt iuſtice, in mine opinion, is In
gratitude commonly called unkinde
nes. Al be it is in diuers formes,
and of ſundrye importaunce, as it is deſcrib
ed by Seneca, in this ſourme.

He is unkinde, whiche denyeth to haue
receyued any benefitte, that in dede he hath
receyued: He is unkinde, that diſſimuleth
he is unkinde, that recompenceſh not. But
he is moſte unkind, that forgetteth. For the
other, though they render not agayne kinde
neſſe, yet they owe it, and there remaineth
ſome ſteppes or tokens of deſertes, incloſed
in an euyl conſcience, and at the laſte by ſome
occaſion maye hap to returne to yeld agayne
thankes, whan eyther ſhame thereto prouo
keth them, or ſodeyned deſire of a thing that
is honeſt, whiche is wont to be for that tyme
in ſtomakes, though they be corrupted, yf a
lyght occaſion do moue them. But he that
forgetteth kindenes, maye neuer bee kinde,
ſens al the benefite is quite fallen from him.
And where lacketh the remembraunce, there is
no hope of any recompence.

In this vice, men bee muche worſe than kindnes
beaſtes. For diuers of them wyl remembre in beaſtes
a benefite, longe after they receiued it.

The courſer, fierce and couragious, wyl
gladly

Kindnes
in Dogges

gladly suffre hys keper, that dresleth and feedeth him, to baunte hym easelye, and stereth not, but whan he lysteth to prouoke hym: where if any other shulde ryde hym, though he were a kynge, he wyl ster and plunge, and endeouour hym selfe to throwe him. Suche kindenes hath bene founden in dogges, that they haue not onely dyed in defendynge their maysters, but also sone after their maysters haue dyed or ben slayne, haue absteyned from meate, and for fainyne haue died by their maysters.

I Plini remembzeth of a dogge, whiche in Epiro (a countrey in Grece) so assaulted the murtherer of hys mayster in a greate assembly of people, that with barkynge and bytynge he compelled hym at the laste, to confesse hys offence.

The dogge also of one Jaylon, hys mayster beynge slayne, woulde neuer eate meate but dyed for hunger.

Manye semblable tokens of kyndenesse Plini reherseth, but principallye one of hys owne tyme, worthy to be here remembred.

When execution shoulde be done on one Titus Gabinius and his seruantes, one of them had a dogge, whiche moughte neuer be dryuen from the prison, nor neuer wold departe from his maysters body: and whan it was taken frome the place of execution, the dogge howled most lamentably, being compassed with a greate nymbre of people, of whome

whom whan one of them hadde caste meare to the dogge, he broughte and layde it to the mouth of his master. And whan the corpe was throwen into the ryuer of Tiber, the dogge swamme after it, and as longe as he mought, enforced him selfe to beare and susteine it, the people staring abrode to behold the faithfulness of the beaste.

¶ Also the Lion, which of all other beastes is accounted moste fierce and cruell, hath ben founden to haue in remembrance a benefite shewed vnto hym.

¶ Jul^{us}. Cellus remembreth the out of the hystorie of Appian, how a lion, out of whose foot, a yong man had ones taken a Rubbe, and clenched the wounde, whereby he waxed hole, after knewe the same man beyng cast to hym to be deuoured, and wolde not hurt hym, but lickinge the legges and handes of the manne, whiche laye dysmayde, lokyng for death, toke acquaintance of hym, and euer after folowed hym, beyng labde in a small lyam, wherewith wondred all they that behelde it. Whiche hystorie is wonderfull pleasaunte, but for the lengthe therof I am constrained to abryge it.

¶ How muche be they repugnant, and (as I moughte saye enemyes) both to nature and reason, whiche beyng aduanced by any good fortune, wyl contemne or neglecte such one, who they haue long known, to be to them Beniuolent, and ioyned to it.

in a sincere and assured frendshipp, appoy-
 ned by infallible tokens, ratified also with
 sundry kindes of beneficences. I require not
 suche excellent frendshipp, as was betwene
 Pitheas and Damo, betwene Horestes and
 Milades, or betwene Gilippus and Titus,
 of whome I haue before written. (for I fir-
 mly beleue, they shal neuer happen in pay-
 ces or couples) nor I seeke not for suche as
 wyl alway prefer the honour or profite of
 their frend before their owne, (whyche is
 the leaste parte of frendshipp) for such one as
 desirously wyl participate with his frende
 al his good fortune or substance, But where
 frendshipp at this daye maye bee founden
 of tyme, shyppe betwene two, but that if fortune be
 more beniuolent to the one, thā to the other,
 the frendshipp waxeth tedious, and he that
 is aduanced, desireth to bee matched with
 one hauing semblable fortune. And if anye
 damage happeneth to his olde frende, he pit-
 tieth hym, but he soroweth not, and though
 he seeme to be sorowfull, yet he helpeth not;
 and though he woulde be sene to helpe him,
 yet trauaileth he not; and though he woulde
 be sene to trauaile yet he suffreth not. For
 (let vs lape a parte assistance with monye,
 which is a peraye smalle porcion of frende-
 shipp) who wyl so much esteeme frendshipp
 that therfore wyl entre into the displeasure
 not of his prince, but of them, whom he sup-
 poseth may minishe his estimaciō towards
 hye

his prince, ye and that much lesse is. w^{ch}ll dis-
please his newe acquaintance, equall with
hym in auctozitee or fortune, for the defence,
helpe, of aduancement of his auncient and
well approued frendes: And the moste mysera-
ble estate at this present tyme of mankynd,
that for the thing, whiche is moste propre vⁿ-
to them, the example must be founde among
the sauage and fierce beastes.

The election of frendes, and the diuers
kinds of flatterers. Ca. xliii.

A Noble man aboue al thing ought to
be veray circumspecte, in the election
of suche men, as shulde continually
attend vpon his person, at times ba-
rante frome busye affaires, whome he maye
vse as his familiars, and saufelpe committe
to the his secretes. For as Plutarke saith:
What so euer he be that loueth, doth, and
is blynde in that thyng, whych he dothe
loue: excepte by learninge he can accustom
hym selfe to ensue and sette moze paye by
those thynges, that bee honeste and vertus
ous, than by theym that he seeth in experi-
ence, and be familiarly v^sed. And surely as
the wormes do bryde moste gladlye in soft
wode and swete, so the moste genyll and
noble wittes inclined to honoure, repleny-
shed with most honeste and curteyse maners
doe sonest admitt flatterers, and be by them
abused.

plutarke
de cognof-
cendomi
so ab adm-
latoze.

Gouernour.

abused. And it is no meruayle. For lyke as
the wyld cozne, beyng in shepe and greate
nelle lyke to the good, yf they bee mengled
with great difficultee wyl be tried out, but
eyther in a narrow holed seue they wyl syl
abyde with the good cozne, or els, where the
holes bee large, they wyl issue out with the
other: so flattery from frendeshipp is hardlye
seuered, for as muche as in euery morpon
and affecte of the mynde, they bee mutuallie
mengled together. Of this peruerse and cur
led people be sundry kyndes: Some appar
eantly do flatter, prayse and extolynge
euery thyng that is done by their superiour,
and bearyng him on hande, that in tym it is
of euery man commended, whiche of trouth
is of all men abhorred and hated, to the af
firmance whereof they adde to othes, adiu
rations, and horrible curses, offryng them
selves to eternal paynes, excepte their report
bee true. And if they perceiue anye parte of
their tale mistrusted, than they sette for the
sodeynelye an heauye and sorowfull counte
nance, as yf they were a iected and brought
into extreme desperaciō. Other there be, whi
che in a more honest terme may be called As
sentatours or folowers, whiche doe awayte
diligently, what is the fourme of the speche &
gesture of their master, and also other bys
maners and faction of garmentes: and to the
imitacion and resemblance thereof they ap
plye their studye, that for the similitude of
maners

maners they may the rather be accepted into the moze familiar acquaintance. Like to the seruantes of Dionysie, king of Sicile, whiche although they were inclined to all unhappines and mischiefe, yet after the comminge of Plato, perceiuyng, that for his doctrine and wysedom the kyng hadde hym in highe estimation, they than counterfayted the countenance and habite of the Philosopher, there by encreasynge the kynges fauour towards them, who than was holpe geuen to studie of Philosophye. But after that Dionysie, by their incitation had expelled Plato oute of Sicile, they abandoned their habite and seruiter, and eueryones retourned to their mischeuous and voluptuous liuyng.

¶ The greaite Alexander bare hys heade some parte on the one syde, moze than the other, whiche diuers of hys seruantes didde counterfayle.

¶ Semblably dyd the scholers of Plato, the most noble Philosopher, which for as much as their maister had a bzode breast, and high Mulders, & for that cause was named Plato whiche signifieth bzode or large, they stuffed their garmetes, and made on their Mulders great bolsters, to seme to be of lyke fourme as he was. Wherby he shuld conceiue some fauour towards them, for the demonstracion of loue that they pretended in the ostensacio of his person. Whych kind of flattery I suppose Plato coulde right wel laughe at.

B.iii.

Bus

¶ But these maner of flaterars may be wel
 found out & perceiued by a good wit, whiche
 sometime by him selfe diligently considereth
 his owne qualittes & natural appetite. For
 the company or communicacion of a person
 familiar, whiche is alwaye plesauante and
 without Marples, inclinyng to inordinat fa
 uour and affectiō, is alwaye to be suspected.
 ¶ Also there is in that frende small commo
 ditie, whiche foloweth a man lyke his shad
 dowe, meuing onely whan he meueth, & abid
 ding where he listeth to tary. These be the mo
 stal enemyes of noble wittes, and specially in
 youth, whan communely they be moze incli
 ned to glozy than grauntie. Wherefore that
 Liberalitie, whiche is on suche flatterers im
 ployed, is not onely perished, but also spilled
 and deuoured. Wherefore in mine opinion, it
 were a right necessarye lawe, that shoulde be
 made to put such persons opely to tortures,
 to the feareful example of other, sens in al
 lacye per pices lawes (as Plutarke saith) not onely
 pitted to he that hath slayne the kinges son and heire,
 gentyl na but also he that counterfayteth his seale, or
 sure, adulterateth his coyne, with moze base met
 tal, shalbe iudged to dye as a traitor. In re
 son how much moze paine (if there were any
 greater paine than deth) were he worthy to
 suffre, that with false adulation, doth corrupt
 and adulterate the gentyl & vertuous nature
 of a noble mā, whiche is not only hys image
 but the veraye man hym selfe: For without
 hers

vertue man is but in the numbꝛe of beastes. And also by peruerse instructiō and flattery, such one sleeth both the soule & good renome of his master. By whose example & negligēce perissheth also an infinite numbꝛe of persons, whiche damage to a royaume neyther with treasure ne with power can be redoubed.

¶ But harde it is, alwaye to excheue these flaterers, whiche lyke to crows, do pike out mens eyes as they be ded. And it is to noble men most difficile, whom all men coueite to please, and to displease them it is accounted no wisdom, perchance lest there shulde ensue therby moze peryl than profite.

¶ Also Carneades, the Philosopher, was wonte to saye, that the sonnes of noble men learned nothyng wel but onelye to ryde.

For whyles they learned letters their maysters flattered them, praisynge every worde that they spake. In wastynge their teachers and companions also flattered them, submyttinge them selves, and fallynge downe to their feet: But the horse or couerlet not vnderstandynge who rydeth hym, ne whether he bee a gentyl man or poman, a ryche man or a poore, if he syt not surely, and can shy of rydynge, the horse casteth hym quikely.

This is the sayynge of Carneades.

¶ There be other of this sorte, whiche moze couertly laye their snares to take the heries of princes and noble men. And as he whiche entendedly to take the fierce and myghty

plutarche

de libe. c.

ducandi.

a notable

exaumples

Subtyl

flatterers

Ex plar

archo de

cogn. ami

co ab adu

latoz.

lyon, pytcheth his hape oz nette in the wood
amonge great trees and thornes, where as
is the moſte haunte of the lyon, that beyng
blynded with the thynkenes of the couerte,
maye he beware, ſodeinly tumbled in to the
nette: where the hunter ſeelynge bothe hys
eyen, and byndyng his legges ſtrongelye to
geſther, finally daunteth his fiercenefſe, and
maketh hym obediēte to his enſignes and
tokens. Semblablye ther be ſome, that by
diſſimulation can oſtente oz ſhewe a highe
graunt, mixt with a ſturdy entericinement
and ſacion, exiſyng them ſelfes from al plea
ſure and recreaciō, frownyng and grutchyng
at euery thyng, wherein is any myſyth oz ſo
laer, althoughe it be honeſt, tauntyng and re
bukyng immoderately them, with whom they
be not contented, ſtampyng them ſelfes the
foze plaine men, althoughe they do the ſembla
ble, & often times worſe in their owne hou
ſes. And by a ſimpliſſytee & rudeneſſe of ſpea
king, with lōge deliberaciō vſed in the ſame,
pytende the high knowlage of counſayle to be
in them only: & in this wiſe pitchyng thir net
of adulation, they intrap the noble and ver
tuous herte, whiche only beheldeth their fey
gned ſeueritee and counterfayte wiſedome, &
the rather becauſe this maner of flatterye is
many fre moſt vnlike to that, which is comunely vſed
bes neceſſary. ¶ Ariſtotel in his politikes, exorteith go
ſay for a uer noure to haue their frendes for a greate
gouernour numbze of eyen, eares, handes, and legges,

considering that no one man may see oꝛ here
 al thing, that many men may see and heret
 he can be in all places, oꝛ do as manye thyngs
 ges wel at one time, as many persons maye
 do. And oftentimes a beholder oꝛ loher on,
 espieth a default, that the doer forgetteth oꝛ
 thypeth ouer: whiche caused the emperor
 Antonine to enquire of manye, what other
 men spake of him, correctyng thereby his
 defaultes, whiche he perceiued to be iustly
 reprovied.

This I truste shal suffice, for the expꝛess
 syng of that incomparable treasure, called
 Amicitia: in the declaracion whereof, I haue
 abodenne the longer, to the entente to pers
 swade the readers, to enserche therfore vigi
 lantly, and beyng so happy to fynde it, as
 cōdyng to the saied description to enu
 brace and honoure it, abhorryng as

houe all thynges Ingratitude,
 whiche pestilence hath longe
 time reigned amonge vs,
 augmented by detraction,
 a corrupt & lothly likes
 nes, wherof I wyl
 treat in the last
 parte of this
 worke, that

men of good nature, espyng it,
 neede not, if they liste, be
 therewith decyued.

Finis libri. 2.

The

Gouernour.

THE THYRDE BOKE.

Of the noble and moſte excellent
vertue named Juſtice. Cap. i.



He moſte excellent and incō-
parable vertue, called Ju-
ſtice, is ſo neceſſary and expē-
dient for the gouernour of a
publike weale, that withoute
it, none other vertue maye be
comēdable, ne wit oz any maner of doctrine
profitable. Cully ſaith, At y beginning, whā
y multitude of people were oppreſſed by the
that abounded in poſſeſſions & ſubſtāce, they
eſpyng ſome one, which excelled in vertue &
ſtrength, repayred to him: who miniſtryng
equitee, whan he had defended the poore mē
from iniury, finally retayned togyther and
gouerned the greater perſons with the laſſe,
in an equal and indifferent order. Wherefoze
they called that man a king, whych is as mu-
che to ſay, as a ruler. And as Ariſtotele ſaith,
Juſtice is not only a porcyon oz ſpice of ver-
tue, but is entierly the ſame vertue. And ther-
of only (ſaith Cully) men be called good mē
as who ſaith, without Juſtice, al other qua-
litees and vertues cā not make a man good.
The auncient Cuiſyans ſay, Juſtice is a
wpl

Offic. i.
frō whēs
the name
of a king
firſt proce-
ded.

whyl perpetual and constaunte, whiche gauerh
to euery man his right. In that it is named
constaunt, it impossibly foritude: in discre-
nyng what is righte or wronge, prudence is
required: And to proportion the sentence or
iudgemente, in an equaliter, it belongeth to
temperance. All these together congluminate
and effectually executed, maketh a perfecte de-
finicion of iustice.

Iustice, although it be but one entier ver-
tue, yet is it described in two kyndes or spiz-
es, the one is named Iustice distributive,
whiche is in distribution of honour, money
benefite, or other thyng semblable; the other
is called commutative or by exchange. And
of Aristotle it is named in Greke *Dioytho-*
tice, whiche is in englyshe correctiue. And
that parte of Iustice is conteyned in inter-
medlynge, and somesyme is voluntarie, some
tyme in voluntary intermedlynge, Volunta-
ry is bying or sellynge, loue, suertee, lettynge,
and takynge, and al other thyngs, wherein is
mutual consent at the begynnynge: and ther-
fore it is called voluntarie. Intermedlynge
involuntary, sometyme is priuylge done, as
thealynge, auoutrepe, poysonynge, falscheade,
discreyte, secreete murder, false wienesse, and
periuerte. Somesyme it is vyolent, as batrepe
open murder, and manslaughter, robberye,
open repproche, and other lyke. Iustice dy-
tributive hathye regarde to the personne, ius-
tice commutative hathye no regarde to the
person

*Iustice
mutatiue
Dioytho-
rica.
Iustice
correctiue*

person, but one lye considerynge the inequalitye, whereby the one thinge exceedeth the other, indemonstrereth to bypne them bothe to an equalitee.

Now wyl I retourne agayne to speake of Justice distributiue, leauinge Justice cōmutatiue to an othe volume, Whiche I suppose shal succede this worke, god graunte me tyme and quietnesse of mynde to perfozme it.

The first part of Justice distributiue. cap. ii

It is not to be doutred, but that the first and principal part of Justice distributiue is, & ever was, to do to god that honoure, which is due to his diuine maiestee. Whiche honoure (as I before sayde in the first booke, where I wrote of the moris called honour in dauntling) consisteth in loue, feare, and reuerence. For sens all men graunte, that Justice is to geue to euerye man his owne, muche moze to render one good dedde for another, mooste of all to loue god, of whome we haue all thynges, and withoute hym we were nothyng, and being perished, we were estelones recouered. Howe oughte we (to whom is geuen the veray light of true faith) to embrace this parte of Justice moze, or at the least no lesse than the Gentilles, whyche wandrynge in the darkenes of ignorance, knewe not god as he is, but deuindynge hys
maies

maiestee into sundry porcions, imagined Idols of diuers fourmes and names, and assigned to them particular auctoritees, offices and dignitees. Not withstanding, in the honourpnge of those goddes, such as they were, they supposed alwaye to bee the chiefe parte of Justice.

Romulus, the fyrste kynge of Rome: the honours, for his fortune and benefites, whiche that he ges he ascribed to his goddes, made to their houses bare new great and noble Temples, ordeynpge to there to their images, sacrifices, and other ceremonies. And mozeouer (whiche is muche to tarch) he meruayled at he also prohibited, that any in villa ro thing shoulde be redde or spoken, reprochable or blasphemous to god. And therfore he excluded all fables made of the aduouces and other enuoytees, that the Greeces had feigned their goddes to haue committed, in diuinity synge his people to speake, and also to couer nothpge of god, but onely that, whiche was in nature moste excellent, whiche after was also commanded by Plato in the fyrst boke of his publike weale.

Numa Pompilius, the nexte kynge after Romulus, elect by the Senat, although he were a stranger borne, and dwellpge with his father in a litle towne of the Sabynes, considerpge frome what estate he came to that dignitee, bepng a man of excellent wylle dome and lernpge, thought he coulde neuer sufficiently honour his goddes for that benefite

deuotion
cause of
tranquil-
litee

nesitte, by whose prouidence he supposed,
that he had attayned the gouernaunce of so
noble a people and citie. He therfore not on-
ly increased within the citie Temples, aul-
tars, ceremonies, priestes, and sundrye reli-
gions, but also, with a wonderfull wyles-
dome and policie, whiche is to longe too bee
nowe reherled, broughte all the people of
Rome, to such a deuotion, or (as I mought
saye) a superstition, that where alwaye be-
fore, duringe the tyme that Romulus rei-
gned, whiche was. xxvii. yeres, they euer
were continually occupied in warres and ra-
uine: By the space of. xliii. yeres (so longe
reigned Numa) they gaue theym all, as it
were to an obseruance of religioon, abandou-
nyng warres, and applyng in sathis wise
their studie to the honouryng of their gods
des, and increasynge their pryblyke weale,
that other people adioynynge, wondrynge
at them, and for their deuotion haupyng the
citie in reuerence, as it were a palayce of
god, al that seson neuer attempted anye war-
res against them, or with any hostilitee in-
uaded their cuntry. Many mo princes and
noble men of the Romans coulde I reherse
who for victories agaynste their ennemys,
rayled Temples, and made solempne and
sumptuous playes in honoure of their god-
des, rendynge (as it were) vnto them thair
ductee, and all wayes accountynge it the
fyrste parte of Iustice. And this parte of
iustice

Justice towarde god, in honourynge hym
with conuenient ceremonies, is not to bee
contemned. Example we haue amonge vs
that be mortall. For yf a man beyng made
ephe, and aduanced by hys lord or may-
ster, wyl prouide to receiue hym, a faire
and pleasaunt lodgynge, hanged with riche
arasse or tapestrye, and with goodly plate,
and other thinges necessarye, mooste freschely
adorned, but after that his mayster is ones
entred, he wyl neuer, entertayne or counte-
naunce hym, but as a stranger: Suppose ye,
that the beautee and garnishynge of the hous
shal only content him, but that he wil thinke
that his seruant broughte hym thither on-
ly for vainglozy, and as a beholder and won-
derer at the richesse that he hym selfe gaue
him, which the other vnthankfully doth at-
tribute to his own fortune or policy: Much
rather is that seruant to be comended, whi-
che hauinge a lyttel rewarde of his mayster,
wyl in a small cotage make hym hertly chere
with muche humble reuerence.

Yet wolde I not be noted, that I wolde
seme so muche to extoll reuerence by it selfe,
that churches and other ornaments dedi-
cate to god, shoulde be therfore contemned.
For vndoubtedly suche thinges be not on-
ly commendable, but also expedient for the
augmentacion and continuing of reuerence,
For be it eyther after the oppynion of Plato,
that al this worlde is the Temple of god, or
that

churches
materiall
and orna-
mentes.

Gouernment

70
that man is the same temple, these mater-patt
thi ches, where vnto repapreth the congres
gacion of christen people, in the whych is the
corpozall presence of the sonne of god, and
berap god, ought to be lyke to the sayde tem
ple, pure, cleane, and well adourned, that is
to saye, that as the heauen visibie is mozte
pleasauntly garnished with planettes and
sterres, resplendishyng in the mozte pure fir
mament of a sure colour, the earthe furnys
shed with trees, herbes, and flowres of di
uers colours, facions, and saours, beastes,
fowles, and fishes of sundry kindes: Sim
blably the soule of man, of his owne kynde
beyng incorruptible, nete, and clere, the sens
ses and powers wonderfull and pleasaunt,
the vertues in it conseynd noble and riche,
the fourme excellent and royal, as that, whi
che was made to the similitude of god, moze
ouer, the body of man is of all other mortal
creatures in proportion and figure most per
fect and elegat. What peruerse or froward
opinion were it to thynke, that god, styll be
yng the same god, that he euer was, woulde
haue his maiestee nowe contemned, or be in
lesse estimacion: but rather moze honoured
for the benefites of his glorious passion,
whyche maye be well perspued, who so per
vseyth the holpe hystorie of the Euangelistes,
where he shal fynde in order, that he desired
cleannes and honour.

Firste in preparation of hys contynge,
whyche

whythe was by the washing and clesning of
all the bodye of man by baptisme in water,
the soule also made cleane by penafice, the elec
tion of the most pure and ilene virgine to be
hys mother, and the also of the line of prync
es most noble and vertuous.

It pleased him muche, that Mary humb
ly kneeled at his fete, and washed them
with precyous balme, and wyped them with
hir heare.

In his gloriouse transfiguration, his vis
age shone lyke the son, and hys garmettes
were wonderfull whyte, and moze pure (as
the Euangelist saithe) than anye workeman
coude make them.

Also at his commyng to Hierusalem, to
warde his passion, he wolde than bee recey
ued with greate routes of people, who say
yng their garmettes on the waye as he rode,
other castyng bowes abrode, wente befoze
hym in fourme of a triumph. All this hos
nour wolde he haue befoze hys resurrection,
whan he was in the fourme of humiltee.

Than howe muche hououre is due to hym
nowe, that al power is geuen to hym, as wel
in heuen as in earth, and beyng glorified of
hys father, sitteth on his right hande, iudg
yng al the worlde.

In reaydye the bible menne shal fynde, Certes
that the infinite noumbre of the sturdye her
sed Jewes coude never haue bene gouerned
by any wisdom, if they had not benne bry

beled with ceremonies.

The superstition of the gentiles, preserued often tymes as wel the Greekes as the Romanes from small destruction. But we wyl lape al those histories a parte, and come to our owne experience.

For what purpose was it ordeyned, that christen kynges (all thoghe they by interpretance succeded their progeniours kynges) shulde in an open and statelpe place befoze all their subiectes, receiue their crowne and othel Regaltees: but that by reason of the honourable circumstances than vsed, shoulde bee impresssed in the hertes of the beholders perpetual reuerence: which (as I befoze sayde) is fountaine of obedience, or elles moughte the kynges bee enoynted, and receiue thep charge in a place secrete, with lesse payne to thep, and also thep ministers.

Lette it bee also consydered, that we bee men and not aungelles: wherfoze we knowe nothynge but by outwarde sygnification. Honour, whereto reuerence perteyneth, is (as I haue sayde) the rewarde of vertus, whiche honour is the estymacion of people, whiche estymacion is not euery where perceiued, but by some exteriour sygne, and that is eyther by laudable repoyte, or excellency in besture, or other thinge semblable. But repoyte is not so communes token, as apparaple. For in olde tyme kynges ware Crownes of golde, and knyghtes onely ware chaines.

Also the moſte noble of the Romaines,
ware ſundry garlandes, wherby was percepa
ued theſe merite. O creatures moſt vnkynde
and barrayne of Juſtice, that wyl denye that
thyng to theſe God and creatoure, whiche
of vertue duetye and ryght is geuen to hym by
good reaſon afore all prynces, whiche in a
degree incomparable bee his ſubiectes and
vaſſals, by whiche opinyon they ſeme to deſp
pyle hym of reuerence, whiche ſhall cauſe all
obedience to ceſſe; wherof wyl enſue vnto
confuſion, yf good chriſten prynces, meued
with zeale, do not ſhortlye proude to extinguiſh
vnto all ſuche oppnyons.

**The .iii. noble counſayles of reaſon,
ſocietee, and knowlage. Cap. .iii.**

Verely the knowlage of Juſtice, is not
ſo difficile or hard to be attayned vnto **Counſay**
to by man, as it is commonly ſuppoſed **loures of**
yf he wolde not wyllynglye abandone **Juſtyce**
the excellency of his propre nature, & folowely
applycat hym ſelfe to the nature of creatures
vnrreaſonable, in the ſtede of Reaſon embras
ſyng ſenſualitee, & for Societe and Beneuol
lence, folowynge wylfulnes & malice, and for
knowlage, blinde ignoraunce and forgetfulneſſe.
Vndoubtedly reaſon, ſocietee called compa
nye, and knowlage remainynge, Juſtice
is at hande, and as they were called for, wyl
nethlye ſelfe to that compaſſy, whiche by his

Belotishipp is made inseparable, wherby haue
 neth (as I mought say) a vertuous & moste
 blessed conspiracye. And in their mozte pre-
 ceptes and aduertisementes, man is perswa-
 ded to receiue and honour iustice, Reason
 bedyng him: Do the same thing to another,
 that thou woldest haue done to the. Some-
 tee, without whych mans life is vnplesante
 & ful of anguyshe, saith: Loue thou thy neigh-
 bour, as thou doest thy selfe. And that sen-
 tence oz precepte came frō heuen, when So-
 cietee was firste ordeyned of god, and is of
 suche auctoritee, that the onely son of god,
 beyng demaunded of a doctour of law, why
 the is the great commaundment in the law
 of god, answered: Thou shalt loue thy lord
 god with al thy hert, and in al thy soule, and
 in all thy mynde, that is the firste and greates-
 t commaundment. The seconde is like to the
 same, Thou shalt loue thy neyghbour as thy
 selfe. In these two commandementes doe de-
 pende all the lawe and prophetes. Beholde
 howe our sauour Chyiste iopneth Bencuo-
 lence with the loue of god, and not onely ma-
 keth it the seconde precepte, but also ressems-
 bleth it vnto the firste.

Mat. xx.

knowlage

Knowlage also as a perfecte instructrice
 and maystere, in a moze bryefe sentence than
 yet hath bene spoken, declareth, by what
 meane the sayde preceptes of reason and so-
 cietee maye be well vnderstande, and thereby
 Justice finally executed The words be these

In latine, *Nosce te ipsum*, wherby he is in-
glyphe, knowe thy selfe, This sentence is of
olde wryters supposed for to bee firste spo-
ken by Chilo, or some other of the seven an-
cient Grekes, called in latin *Sapientes*, in
englyshe sage or wyse men. Other do accom-
modate it to appollo, whom the paynimes ho-
noured for god of wysedome. But to say the
trouth, were it Appollo that spake it, or Ahi-
lo, or any other, surely it proceeded of god, as
an excellent and wonderfull sentence. By
this counsaile, man is induceth to vnderstande
the other two preceptes, and also thereby
is accomplished not onely the seconde parte,
but also the residue of Iustice, whiche I be-
fore haue reherled. For man knowynge hym
selfe, shal knowe that wherby he is his owne,
a petye neth to hym selfe. But what is more
hys owne, than his soule? Or what thyng
more apperteyneth to hym, than hys bodie?
His soule is vndoubtedly and frely his own.
And none other person maye by anye means
possesse it or clayme it. His bodie so petye-
neth vnto him, that none other, without his
consent, maye vend or therin anye propriete.
What valour or price his soule is, the li-
mitude, wherunto it was made, the immor-
talte, and life everlastinge, and the powers
and qualites therof, abundantly doe declare.
And of that same matter and substance that
his soule is of, be all other soules, that now
are, and haue ben, and euer shall be without

that this
sentence no
see te ipsi
know thy
selfe indu
ceth to the
verpe
knowledge
of iustice.

There qu
ltee i sou
les i cor
poral sub
stance.

Gouernour.

Singularitie of preheminence, of nature. In
 semblable estate is his body and of no better
 state, as I mought frankly saye, is a gen-
 tle man made, then a carter, and of lyber-
 tee of wyl, as muche is geuen of god to the
 poore herdsman, as to the great and mighty
 Emperour. Than in knowyng the condicio-
 of his soule and body, he knoweth him selfe,
 and consequently in the same thyng he kno-
 weth every other man.

**Kindne-
 loge of
 a Gouer-
 noure.**

If thou be a gouernour, or hauest ouer of
 ther soueraintie, knowe thy selfe. That is
 to saye, knowe that thou art verely a man,
 compacte of soule and bodye, and in that all
 other men be equal vnto the. Also that every
 man taketh with the, equall benefite of the
 spiryte of lyfe, nor thou hast any more of the
 dewe of heauen, or the brightnes of the son,
 than any other person. Thy dignitie of ou-
 stozitee, wher in thou only differest fro other
 is, as it were, but a weighty or heavy cloke,
 f. e. thy glitteryng in the eyes of them that be
 poorelynde, wher vnto the, it is paynfull, if
 thou weare hym in his right facion, and as
 it shall best become the. And from the it may
 be chozilye taken, of hym that dyd put it on
 the, if thou be it negligent, or that thou
 weare it not comely, and as it appertaineth.
 Therefore whyles thou wearest it, know thy
 selfe, knowe that the name of a soueraigne
 or ruler, without actual gouernace, is but a
 shadowe, that gouernance standeth not by
 wordes

wordes only, but principally by acte & example, that by example of gouernours men doe eyle or fal in vertue or vice. And as it is said of Aristotle, rulers more greuouly to sinne, by example than by their acte. And the more they haue vnder their gouernance, the greater accomptie haue they to render, That in their owne preceptes and ordinaunces they be not founde negligent. Wherfoze there is a noble aduertisement of the emperour Alexander, for his grauitie called Souerus.

C On a time, one of his noble men exhorted hym to do a thinge, contrarie to a lawe or edicte, whiche he hym selfe had enacted: But he firmelye denyed it. The other still persi styng, sayd, The emperour is not bounden to obserue his owne lawes. Wherevnto the sayd emperour displeasauntly answeringe, sayde in this maner, God forbidde, that euer I shulde deuise any lawes, wherby my people shoulde bee compelled to do any thyng, whiche I my selfe can not tollerare.

C Wherfoze ye that haue any gouernance, by this moste noble princes example knowe the boundes of your auctoritee, knowe also your office and dutee, beyng your selves men mortal, among men, and instructours and leaders of me. And that as obedience is due vnto you, so is your study your labour, your industry with vertuous example, due to them that be subiecte to youre auctoritee. ye shal knowe alwaye your selfe, yf for after

Example
of
Soyers.

Governour.

allion or motion ye do speake or do nothinge
knowing the immortallitee & moste precious
nature of your soule, and remembryng that
your bodie is subiecte to corruption, as all
other be, and lyfe tyme uncertaine. If ye for-
get not this commune estate, and do also re-
membze, that in nothing but onely in vertue

Agessilaus ye are better than an other inferiour person:

Accordyng to the sayng of Agessilaus, kynge
of Lacedemones, who hering the great kynge
of Persia prayled, asked howe muche that
great kynge was moze than he in iustice. And
Socrates, beyng demaunded, if the kynge of
Persia seemed to hym happy: I can not tel
(sayde he) of what estimacion he is in vertue
and learning. Consider also, that auctorities
being wel and diligently vsed, is but a token
of superiouritee, but in very dede it is a burde
and losse of libertie.

And what gouernoz in this wise knoweth
him selfe, he shal also by the same rule know
al other men, & shal nedes loue them, for whō
he taketh labours, and forsaketh libertie.

**Knowe
lage of
subiectes**

In semblable maner, the inferiour person
or subiecte ought to consider, that all bee it
(as I haue spoken) he in the substance of
soule and body, is equall with his superiour:
yet for as muche as the powers & qualites
of the soule and body, with the disposicion of
reason, be not in every man equal, therfore
god ordeined a diuersitee or preheminence in
degrees to be amonge men, for the necessary
Direction

direction and preservation of theim in con-
formitee of liuyng. Wherof nature minis-
tereth to vs examples abundantly, as in bees
(whereof I haue before spoken in the firste
boke) cranes, redde deare, wolues, and di-
uers other fowles and beastes, whiche her-
deth or flocketh, amonge whom is a gouer-
nour or leader, towarde whom all the other
haue a vigilant eye, awaytynge his signes or
tokens, and accordynge thereto repayrynge
theim selfe moste diligently. If we thinke,
that this naturall inclination of creatures
vnrasonable is necessary and also comeda-
ble, howe farre out of reason shall we iudge
them to be, that wolde exterminate all types
of order, extingue all gouernance and lawes,
and vnder the colour of holy scripture, whi-
che they do violently twist to their purpose,
endeuour theim selues, to bringe the lyfe of
man into a confusion ineuitable, and to be in
much worse estate, than the afore named
beastes. Sens without gouernance and
lawes, the persons moste stronge in bodye,
shulde by violence constrainne theim that be
of lesse strengthe and weaker, to labour as
bondemen or slaues for their sustenance
and other necessities, the stronge men beinge the nerece
without labour or care. Than were all our liues that
equalitee dashed, and finally as beastes, sa, is i gover-
uage, one shal desire to slea an other. I omit nance,
continual man slaughters, rauishments,
aduoutryes, and enomytees horrible to res-

C.v.

herle,

GOUERNOUR.

herse, whyche gouernance lackinge, muste
nedes of necessitee ensue: excepte these euang-
gelicall persons coulde perswade god, or com-
pelle him to chaunge men into aungels, ma-
kinge theym al of one disposition, and confir-
ming them all in one forme of charitee.
And as concerninge all men in a generalitee
this sentence, knowe thy selfe, whyche of all
other is most compendious, beinge made but
of thye wordes, euery worde beinge but one
syllable, induceth men sufficiently to the know-
lage of Justice.

Of fraude and discelfe, which be
agaynst iustice, Cap. iiii.

El. offi. i.
The excel-
lence of
Iustyce

Tully sayth that the foundation of per-
petuall prayse and renome, is Justice
without the which nothinge maye be
commendable. Which sentence is veri-
fied by experience, For be a man neuer so va-
liant, so wise, so liberall or plenteous, so
familiar or courtlyse, if he be fene to exerceple
iniustice or wronge, it is often remembred:
But the other vertues bee seldomme rekes-
ned, without an exception, whiche is in this
maner. As in praysing a man for some good
qualitee, where he lacketh iustice men wyl
comonly say: He is an honorable man a boi-
teous mā, a wise man, a valiant mā, lauringe
that he is an oppressour, an extorcioner, or is
deceitful or of his promise vntrue. But yf
he

he be iuste, with the other vertues, than is is
sayde, he is good and woꝛthyful, or he is a
good man & an honourable, good and gens
tyl, or good and hardy, so that Justice onlpe
beareth the name of good, and lyke a cappe
sayne or leader pꝛecedeth al vertues in eueꝛy
commendacion.

But where as the sayde Cully saith, that
iniury, which is contrary to Justice, is done
by two meanes, that is to say, eyther by vio-
lence or by fraude, fraude seemeth to be propre
ly of the foxe, violence or force, of the lion, the
one & the other be far frō the nature of man,
but fraud is woꝛthy most to be hated. That
maner of iniury, which is done with fraud &
disceite, is at this present time so commonly
practised, that if it be but a lyttel, it is called
polisy, and if it be muche, and with a vilage
of grauitie, it is than named & accounted
wysedome. And of those wysen men speaketh
Cully, sayng: Of al iniustice, none is moꝛe
capital than of those persons, that whā they
disceitue a man most, do it, as they wold seme
to be good men. And Plato saith, It is ex-
treme iniustice, one to seme righte, which
bede is vniust: of those .ii. maner of frauds
wil I seuerally speke but first wil I declare
the most mischeuous importāce of this kind
of iniury in a generalite. Like as the phisic
one cal those diseies moste petillous, against
whō is founde no pꝛeseruatue, & ones entred
be seilds of neuer recovered: So blably those

Iniurye
by two
meanes
done.

Fraude &
disceyte.

Plato de
repub. li.

inius

Gouernour.

injuries be moſte to be feared, againſte the
whiche can be made no reſiſtence, and being
taken, with greate difficultee or neuer they
can be redreſſed.

Injury apparant and with power infor-
ced, epther may be with like power reſiſted,
or with wiſedome eſchued, or with intreat-
ye reſeigned. But where it is by craftye en-
gine imagined, ſubtiltye prepared, couertes
ly diſſembled, and diſcreit fullye practyſed,
ſurely no man may by ſtrength withſtand it,
or by wiſedome eſcape it, or by anye other
maner of meane reſiſte or auoyde it. Where-
foze of all injuries, that whiche is done by
fraude, is moſte horrible and deteſtable, not
in the oppynion of man onely, but alſo in the
ſight and iudgement of god. For vnto him
nothyng maye be acceptable, wher in lacketh
verytye, called commonlye truth, he him ſelfe
being al veritee: and at thynge conſpyring
vnto truth, is to him coſtrarious and aduerſe.
And the deup is called a lyar, and the father
of leaſonges. Wherefoze al thyng, whiche in
viſage or apparance pretendeth to be anye o-
ther than veritye it is, may be named a leaſing
the execution wherof is fraude. whiche is in
effecte but vntrothe, enemye to truthe, and
conſequently enemye to god. For fraude is
(as experience teacheth) vs an euyl dyſcrete,
craftily imagined and deuised, whiche vnder
a colour of truthe and ſimplyte, induceth
geth hym that nothyng muſt truſteth. And by
cause

cause it is euyl, it can by no meanes be lesul.

Wherfoze it is repugnant vnto iustice.

The Aepolitanes and Alanes (people of an arbitour, in Italy) contended together for the limytes and boundes of their landes and fyeldes.

And for the dyscussing of that controuersye, eyther of theym sente their ambassadours to the senate and people of Rome (in whom at that tyme was thought to be the moste excellent knowlage and execution of iustice) despyng of them an indifferent arbitour, and such as was substantially learned in the lawes of Italie, to determine the variance, that was betwene the two citers: compromittynge theym selves in the name of all their countrey, to obeye and persourne all suche sentence and awarde, as shoulde be by hym geuen. The senate appoynted for that purpose one named Quintus Fabius Aboeo, whome they accounted to be a man of greates wisdom and learning. Fabius, after that he was come to the place, whych was in controuersye, he separatynge the one people from the oither, communed with them bothe apart, exhortynge the one and the other, that they wolde, not be oz desire any thyng with a couetous mynde, but in treadinge out of their boundes, rather go shorte thereof than ouer. They, doyng accordynge to hys exhortacion, left betwene both companies a great quantitee of grounde, whych at this day we call batable. That perceyvinge Fabius, assigned

signed to euery of them the boundes that they
them selues had appoynted. And at that land
whiche was lefte in the myddes, he adiudged
to the Senate and people of Rome. That
manner of dealing (sayth Cully) is to Detellue
and not to geue Iudgement. And verely eue
ry good man will thynke, that this lacke of iu
stice in Fabius, beyng a noble man & wel les
ned, was a great reproche to his honour.

**Fraud in
confedera
cy.**

It was a notable rebuke vnto the Israel
ytes, that whan they besyged the Gabaony
tes (a people of Chanan) they in conclusy
on receyued them into a perpetual leage. But
after the Gabaonytes had yelded theym, the
Iewes perceiuyng they were restreynd by
theyr othe to slea theym, or cruellie entreate
theym, made of the Gabaonytes, beyng theyr
confederates, theyr skulldons and drudges,
wherewith almyghy God was nothyng con
tented. For the leage or truce, wherin frends
Myttee and lybertee was entended, whiche
caused the Gabaonytes to bee yolden, was
not duely obserued, whiche was clearly a
gaynste Iustyce.

**Simply
ynpync
te.**

In euery couenaunt, bargayne, or
promyse, oughte to bee a symplecytee, that is
cytee in co to saye, one playne vnderstandyng or meas
urement betweene the parties: And that sym
plecytee is properly Iustyce. And where any
man of a couetous or malycious mynde wyl
degresse purposely from that symplecytee tak
yng aduantage of a sentence or woorde,
whiche

whiche might be ambiguous or doubtfull,
or in some thyng epyther superfluous or la-
kyng in the bargayne or promyse, where he
certaynelpe knoweth the trowth to be other-
wyle: this in myne oppnyon is dampnable
fraude beyng as playne agaynst Iustyce, as
yf it were enforced by violence.

A Finally, all dysceite and dissimulation, in
the oppnyon of them, whiche exatly honour
Iustyce is nerer to dyspraple than commeu-
dacion, althoughe therof mought ensue some
thyng good. For in vertue may be nothyng
furate or counterfayte: But therein is onely
the Image of verpyte, called Simplicitee.

Wherfore Cullye, beyng of the opinion of
Antipater the Philosopher saythe. To con-
ceale any thyng, whiche thou knoweste, to
the entente that for thyne owne profyte thou
woldest another, who shall take any damage
or benefyte thereby, shoulde not knowe it, is
not the acte of a person playne or symple, or
of a man honest, iuste, or good: but rather
of a person craftye, vngentyll, subtyll, decept-
full, malicious, and wyle.

A And after he saythe, Reason requyrez
that nothyng be done by treason nothing by
dissimulation, nothyng by dysceyt. Whiche he
excellently (as he doth all thyng) afterwarde
in a bypese conclusyon proueth, sayenge: Na-
ture is the fountaine wherof the lawe spryn-
geth, and it is acorดยnge to nature, no man
to do that, wherby he shuld take (as it were)

a praye of an other mans ignorance.

Of this matter Culli writeth many pious
examples and quicke solutions. But now
here I make an endeto write anye more of
this tyme of fraude, whyche by no means
maye bee loyned, to the vertue named iustice

**That Iustice ought to be betwene
enemyes. Cap. v.**

**Treason
hated of
enemies**

Suche is the excellency of this vertue iu
stice, that the practise thereof hath not
only obtained digne comedaciō of such
person, betwene whom hath bene mozt
tal hostilytee, but also oftentimes, hath ex
tinguished the same hostilitie. And the fiercherries
of mutual enemyes hath ben thereby rather
subdued, than by armure or strength of peo
ple: as it shal appere by examples ensuyng.
When the valiant kynge Pyrrhus war
red mozte aspiely agaynst the Romaine, one
Timochares, whose sonne was preman for
the mouthe with the kynge, prompted to fa
brius, than being consul, to clea king Pyr
rus: which thig being to the senate reported,
by their ambassade, warned the kynge to be
ware of such maner of treason, sayng: The
Romaines mainteyned their warres with
armes, and not with popson. And yet not
withstandynge they discouered not the name
of Timochares, so that they embraced equis
tes as wel in that they clewe not there enemy
by

by treason, as also that they betrayed not him which purposed them byndnes.

In so muche was Justice of orde time es-
tablished, that withoute it none acte was alow-
wed, were it neuer so noble or profitable.

What tyme Xerxes, king of Persia, with his army was expelled out of Grece, all the naupe of Lacedemonia late at rode in an ha-
uen, called Cithium, within the dominion of the Athenienses. Themistocles, one of the
princes of Athens, a muche noble captain, said vnto the people, that he hadde aduysed
hym selfe of an excellent counsaile, where vnto if fortune inclined, nothyng moughte
moze augment the power of the Athenienses: but it ought not to be divulgat or published.
Wherfore despyed to haue one appoynted vnto hym, to whome he moughte secretly dis-
couer the enterpryse. Where vpon there was assigned to him one Aristides, who for his
vertue was surnamed rightwyle. Themis-
tocles declared to him, that his purpose was to put fyre in the naupe of Lacedemones, whi-
che lay at Cithium, to the intent that it beinge
burned, the dominion, and hole power ouer
the sea, shoulde be onely in the Athenienses.
This deuyse hearde and percepued, Aristi-
des comming befoze the people, said: The
counsaile of Themistocles was very profy-
table, but the enterpryse was dishoneste and
against iustice. The people hearynge that
the acte was not honest or iuste, cryed wth

One voyce. Not yet expedient. And forthwith they commaunded Themistocles, to tell his enterpryse. Wherby this noble people declared, that in euery acte, speciall regarde, and aboue all thyng, consideration ought to be had of Iustice and Honesty.

OF faith or fidelitee, called in latine Fides, which is the foundation of Iustice cap. vi.

That whiche in latine is called Fides, is a part of Iustice, and may diuersly be interpreted: and yet finally tendeth to one purpose in effecte. Sometime it may be called faith, sometime credence, other whyles trust. Also in a freche terme it is named loyaltie. And to the imitation of latine, it is called often fidelitee. At whych wordes if they be enterlye, and (as I mought saye) exactly vnderstanded, shall appere, to a studious reader, to signifye one vertue or qualitie, althoughe they seme to haue some diuersitie. As beleuing the preceptes and promise of god, it is called faith. In contractes betwene man and man, it is communely called credence. Betwene persons of equall estate or condicion, it is named trust. For the subiecte or seruante to his soueraigne or master, it is properly named fidelitee, as in a freche terme loyaltie.

Wherfore to him, that shal either speke

or write, the place is diligently to be obserued, where the propre signification of the word maye be best expressed. Considering (as Plato saith) that the name of euerye thinge is none other, but the vertue or effecte of the same thinge, conceived firste in the mynde, and than by the voyce expressed, and finallye in letters signified.

Plato in
Cratilo.

¶ But nowe to speake in what estimation this vertue was of olde tyme amonge gentiles, whych now (alas to the lamentable reproche, and perpetual infamy of this present tyme) is so neglected throughout christendome, that neyther regarde of religion or honoure, sollemn othes or terrible curses, can cause it to be obserued. And that I am much amazed to write, but that I muste nedes nowe remembre it: Neyther seals of armes, signe manuels, subscription, nor other specialtees, y^e vnith a multitude of witnesses bee nowe sufficient, to the obseruynge of promyses. What publike weale shulde we hope to haue there, where lacketh fidelitee? whiche as Cully saith, is the foundation of Justice. What meruayle is it, though there be in all places contention infinite, and that good lawes be tourned into sophemes and insolubles, sens euery where fidelitee is constrained to crie in trypall, and credence as I might saye) as become a vatabunde?

Faith neglected.

¶ To Iosue, whiche succeeded Moyses in the gouernance and leading of the Jewes.

¶ II.

Concerning.

**Of what
auctoritie
fidelitie is**

**cananees
preserved
by Josue**

almighty god gaue in commandement to Moses as manye as he shoulde happen to take of the people, called Cananees. There hapned to be nigh to Hierusalem a countrey, called Gabaon, and in dede the people thereof were Cananees, who hearing of the precepte geuen to Josue, as men (as it seemed) of greatte wysedome, sent an ambassade to Josue, whiche approached their countrey, sayng: They were ferre distaunt from the cananees, and desyred to bee in perpetuall leage with hym and his people. And to dissemble the length of their iourney, as their countrey had ben ferre thens, they hadde on them olde woyn garments, & towe shone. Josue supposynge al to be true that they spake, concluded peace wth them, and confirmed the leage, and with a solempne othe ratified to the one and the other. Afterwarde it was discouered, that they were cananees, whiche yf Josue hadde knowen before the leage made, he had not spared anye of them. But whan he reuolued in his mynde, the solempne oth that he had made, and the honoure, whiche consisted in his promise: he presumed, that faith beyng obserued vnperished, shuld please almighty god aboue all thinges, whiche was than proued. For it appereth not, that god euer dyd so muche as in any wyse embraced him for breakyng of his commandement.

¶ By this example appereth, in what estimation and reuerence, leages, and truces made

made by princes, oughte to be hadde, to the
 breache wherof none excuse is sufficiēt. But
 let vs leaue princes affaires to thier coun-
 saylours, And I wyl now write of the par-
 tes of Fidelitee, whych be moze frequent and
 accustomed to be spoken of: And first of loy- trust and
 altee and trust, and laste of Credence, whych fidelitee.
 principally resteth in promyse.

In the moſte renoumed warres, betwene the loyals
 the Romaynes and Anniball, duke of Cars tee of Cas-
 thaginensis, a noble citee of Spaine, called guntines
 Saguntum, which was in amitee and leage
 with the Romaynes, was by the sayd Anniball Titus li-
 bal strongly besieged, in so muche as they nus.
 were restreyned from vitayle and all other Valerius
 sustenance. Of the whych necessitee, by their maximus
 priuy messages they ascertayned the Romay-
 nes. But they beyng busied about the prepa-
 rations for the defence of Italy, and also of
 the citee, agaynste the intollerable power of
 Anniball, hauing also late, two of their moſte
 valiaunt capitaynes, Publius Scipio, and
 Lucius Scipio, with a greate hoste of Ro-
 maynes, clayne by Anniball in Spayne, des-
 ferred to send any speddy succours to the Sa-
 guntines. But notwithstandinge that An-
 niball desired to haue with them amitee, of-
 feryng them peace, with their citee and goo-
 des at libertee: Considerynge that they were
 brought into extreme necessities, lackig vitayle
 and dispayring to haue succours fro y roma-
 nes, al thynhabitantes, cōfortinge & exhortynge
 the

Gouverneur.

the other dye, rather than to violate the
league and amities that they of long time had
continued with the Romaynes, by one hole
assente, after they had made sundrye greate
piles of woode and other matter to brenne,
they layed in it all their goods & substance,
And laste of all conueyinge them selues into
the sayd piles or bonetires, with theyr wy-
ues and chyldren, set al on fire, & there were
brenned, & Annibal coulde entre the cite.
Semblable loyaltie was in the inhaby-
tantes of Betulia the same time, who beinge
likewise besieged by Anniball sente for so-
rours to Rome. But for the great losse that
a litle eyste the Romaynes hadde sustayned
at the battle of Cannas, they coulde in no
wise deliuer them. Wherefore they dischar-
ged them of their promise, and licensed them
to do that thing which mought be mooste for
their saufegarde. By which aunswere they se-
med to be discharged, & lawfully mought haue
entered into the fauour of Annibal: yet not-
withstanding this noble people preferringe
loyaltye before life putting ouer of their cytye
their women & al that were of yeares vnable
for the warres, that they mought moze fran-
kelye withstande famine, obstinately defended
their walles, that in the defence they al peris-
hed. So that whā Annibal was entred, he
found that he toke not the cite, but rather
the sepulchre of the loyall cite Betulia.
A noble fidelitie, which is so much and
moze

more to be wondred at, that it was not onely in one or a few persons, but in thousandes of men: and they not being of the bloude or alliance of the Romaines, but straungers, dwellinge in farr countreies from them, beinge onely of gentile nature and vertuous courage, inclined to loue honoure, and to be constant in their assurance.

Now wyl I write from henceforth of particular persons, whiche haue shewed exam-
ples of loyaltye, which I pray god make so cleare to the mindes of the readers, that they may be alwaye redy to put the seable in experie.

Howe muche ought al they, in whome is anye porcion of gentyl courage, endeuoure them selves, to bee alwayes true and loyal to their soueraigne, who putteth theym in truste, or hath bene to theym beneficiall, as wel reason exhorteth, as also sundry exam-
ples of noble personages, whiche as com-
pendiously as I can, I wyl nowe bringe to the readers remembraunce.

What tyme Saul, for his greuous offenses was abandoned of almighty god (whome of a very poore mans sonne, God anounced to the kingdome of Israel) and that David being his seruante, and as poore a mans son as he, was elected by god to reigne in Israel, and annointed kyng by the prophete Samuel, Saul being therfore in a rage, had a great indignacion at David, pursued him with a greate hoste to haue slayne hym, whoe as

U. iiii.

longe

The com-
mendacion
of loyaltye

Faithful-
nes is sub-
iected.

Gouernour.

long as he mought) fled, and forbare Saul as his souerain lord. On a time David was so inclosed by the armye of Saul, that he mought by no waies escape, but was fayne to hyde him & his men, in a great caue, whiche was wyde and depe in the erth. During the time that he was in the caue, Saul, not knowing therof, entred into the caue, to do his naturall easement: whiche the people of David perceiuing, exhorted him to slea Saul hauing such oportunitie: sayinge: God had brought his enemy into his handes, & that Saul beinge slaine, the warre were all at an ende, considering that the people loued better David than Saul, But David, refusing their counsaile, saied: He wolde not laie violent handes on his soueraigne lord, beinge a kynge enoynted of god: but softly approached to Saul, and cut of a peece of the nerther part of his mantel. And after that Saul was departed oute of the caue towarde hys caue, David called after him, sayinge: Who pursuest thou noble princee with other wordes reherced in the bible, in the fyrst booke of kynges: and than shewed to him the parte of his mantell. Wherat Saul beinge abashed, recognised his unkyndnes, callinge David his deare son and trusty frende, recommending to him his children and progenie, sayinge by the wylle of god he was elected to succede him in the kyngedome of Israel, And so departed Saul from David,

¶ Yet not withstanding, after ward he pursued hym in Gaddy. And in a nyghte, whan Saule and hys army were at reste, and that Dauid by an espiall, knewe thei weere all faste on slepe, toke wth him a certayne of the most assured and valiant personages of hys hoste, and in moste secreete wyle came to the pavilion of kynge Saule, where he founde him sleeping, haupng by him his speare, and a cuppe with water: Wherefoze one of the company of Dauid sayed, that he wth the speare of Saul, would strike him thorough, and slea him. Hape sayed Dauid, our lord forbode, that I suffre my soueraigne lord to be clayne. For he is annoynted of God. And therewith he toke the speare wth the cuppe of water. And whan he was a good distace from the hoste of Saul, cried wth a loude voice to Abner, whiche was than marshall of the army of Saule, who answered and sayed, what arte thou that thus disealest the kynge, which is now at his rest? To whome Dauid sayed, Abner, thou and thy companye are worthy deathe, that haue so negligentely watched your prync. Where is his speare, and the cup of water, that stode at his beddes heade? Surely ye be but dead men, whā he shall knowe it. And therewith he Metwed the speare and cuppe with water. Whiche Saule perceiuyng, and hearyng the voyce of Dauid, cryed vnto hym, sayng: Is not this the voyce of my deare sonne Dauid? I

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vnquietly do pursue hym, and he not with-
standynge dothe to me good for euyl. With
ether wordes, whyche to abbreviate the mat-
ter, I passe ouer.

**Hystories
in hangin
gs.**

This noble hystorie, and other semblable
eyther wrought in Bresse, or cunnyngly pain-
ted, wyl rauche better beseme the houses of
noble men, than the Döcubines, and volups-
tuous pleasures of the same Dauid, and Sa-
lomon his sonne, whiche be moze frequently
expressed in the hangynge of houses and
cöüterpointes, than the vertue and holynes
of the one, or the wyse experimentes of the
other. But nowe wyl I passe ouer to hysto-
ries, which be moze strange, and therfore I
suppose moze pleasant to the reader.

**kynges cer
mant.**

Serres bring king of Persia, the greate
citee of Babylon rebelled against hym, whis-
che was of such strength, that the kyng was
not of power to subdue it: that perceiuyng
a gentylman one of the counsaile of kyng
Serres, named zopirus, a man of notable
wyledome, vnwitting to any person, dyd cut
of his owne eares and nose, and prylye de-
parted towarde Babylon: And beynge kno-
wen by theim of the citee, was demaunded,
who had so dysfigured hym. Vnto whome
he answered, with apparante tokens of he-
uines, that forasmuche as he had geuen to
Serres counsaile and aduise, to bee reconci-
led vnto their citee, he being metied with ire
and dyspleasure towarde hym, in mozte
cruel

cruel wife, caused him to bee so shamefull
 ly mutulate. Addinge therunto reprochefull
 wordes against ceres. The Babylonians
 beholding his miserable estate, and the tor-
 ments, which (as it seemed to them) approued
 his wordes to be true much pitied him. And
 as well for the greates wisedome that they
 knewe to be in him as for the occasion wher-
 by they supposed shoulde incense him to be
 shortly auenged, made him theyr chiefe cas-
 pitaine, and committed wholpe to hym the
 gouernaunce and defence of their citee wher-
 by he hapened in euerye thinge accordinge to
 his expectation. Wherupon he shortly gaue
 notice to the kinge of all his affaires and
 exploitures. And finallye soo endeouored
 him selfe by his wisedome, that he accorded
 the kinge and the citee, withoute anye
 losse or damage to either of them. Wheres-
 fore on a time the sayde kinge ceres, cut-
 tinge an odyle great pomegranate, and be-
 holding it faire and ful of kernelles, sayde
 in the presence of al his counsaile: He hadde
 leauer haue suche one frende as zopirus
 was, than as manye Babylones as there
 were kernelles in the pomegranate. And also
 that he rather would, that zopirus were res-
 tored againe to his nose, and his eares, than
 to haue a hundrede suche cities as Babylon
 was. Whiche by the reporte of writers was
 incomparably the greatest and fairest citee
 of al the worlde.

The

Governour.

C The Parthiens in a cruile discorde amonge them, selues, draue Artabanus their kynge out of his realme, and elected among them one Cinnamus to be thei^r kynge, Azate king of Adiabenes, vnto whom Artabanus was fledde, sente an ambassade vnto the Parthens, exhortynge theim to receiue againe Artabanus: but thei made answere that sens this departing of Artabanus, thei had by a hole assent chosenu Cinnamus, vnto whom they had done their fealtee, and were sworn his subiectes, which oth thei mought not lawfully breake. Therof hearyng Cinnamus, who at that tyme was kynge ouer them, wrote vnto Artabanus and Azate, that they shoulde come, and that he wold render the royaume of Parthia vnto Artabanus. And whan thei were come, Cinnamus mette with them, adourned in the robes of a kynge, and as he approached Artabanus, a lighting downe of his horse, sayed in this wyse: Syr, whan the people hadde expelled you out of your royaume, and woulde haue translated it vnto an other, at thei^r instance I toke it. But whan I perceyued their ransour allwaged, and that wth good wil they wolde haue you againe, whiche are their naturall soveraigne lordes, and that nothyng letteth, but onely that they wold nothyng do contrary to my pleasure, wth good wyll, and for no drede or other occasiō, as ye may perceiue, do here redye your realme efelones vnto

vnto you, and therewith takynge the diademe
of from his owne heade, dyd set it immediat
ly vpon the head: of Arthabanus.

¶ The fidelitee of Ferdinando (kyng of
Dragon) is not to be forgotten, whome hys a faithfull
brother Henry kyng of Castille, decessynge, tutour.

made gouernour of his sonne, beynge an in-
fant. This Fernando with such Justice, ruz-
led and ordered the realme, that in a parlas-
mente, holden at Castille, it was treated by
the hole consent of the nobles & people, that
the name or title of the kyngdome of Spayne
shulde be geuen vnto hym. Wherby the honour
he saynyng to receiue thankfully, dyd putte
vpon him a large and wyde robe, wherein he
secretly bare the yong prynces his newew, and
so came to the place, where for the sayde pur-
pose, the nobles and people were assembled,
demandynge of euerye man his sentence.

Who with one voyce gaue vnto hym the
kyngedome of Spayne. With that he toke
out of his robe the lyttell babbe hys newewe,
and settynge hym on his shulder, sayde all a-
loude vnto them: Lo ye Castiliens, beholde
here is your kyng. And then he confirmynge
the bettes of the people towarde his newew,
finally deliuered to hym the realme in peace,
and in al thinges abundant. This is the fel-
delitee that appertayneth to a noble and gen-
tyl herte.

¶ In what hatred and perpetuall reproche
ought they to be, that corrupted with pesti-
lencial

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lenciall avarice or ambicion, dooe betraye their maysters, or anye other that trusteth them: What monstrous personnes haue we reade and herd of, whythe for the inordinate and deuellyshe appetite to reigne, haue moste tyrannouslye slayne the chyl dren, nor onely of their soueraygne lordes, but also of their owne natural bretherne, committed vnto their gouernance of whome purposelye I leaue at this tyme to wyte, because the most cursed remembraunce of them shall not consume the tyme, that the wel dysposed redeymought occupie in examples of vertue.

vengeance
for treason

This one thyng, I wolde were remembred that by the iust prouidence of god, dysloyaltee or treason, seldom escapeth greates vengeance: Al be it that it be pretended for a necessaie purpose.

Example we haue of Brutus and Cassius, two noble Romayns, and men of excellent vertues, whyche pretendynge an honorable zeale to the libertee and comune weale of their citee, slewe Julius Cesar, who trusted them moste of all other, for that he usurped to haue the perpetuall dominion of thempire, supposynge thereby to haue brought the Senate and people to their iustinate libertee. But it dyd not so succede to their purpose. But by the deathe of so noble a prince, hapened confusion and ciuile batayles. And bothe Brutus and cassius, after longe warres, banyquished by Octavian, newewe and heyre

herye vnto cesar, at the last fallinge into ex-
treme desperation, slewe them selves. A wo-
thy and conuenient vengeance for the mu-
der of so noble and valiant a prince. Manye
other lyke examples doe remayne, as well in
wrytyng as in late remembrance, whiche I
passe ouer for this tyme.

C. Of promyse and couenant. cap. viii.

Concernynge that parte of fidelitie,
whiche concerneth the keepynge of
promyse, or couenantes, experience de-
clareth how lyttel it is now had, in re-
garde, to the notable rebuke of all vs, whi-
che doe professe christes religion, consyde-
rynge that the Turkes and Sarazens haue
vs therfore in contempte and derision, they
haueynge fidelitie of promyse aboue al thinge
in reuerence. But no meruaile, that a bare
promyse holde the not, where an othe vppon
the Euangelistes solempnelpe and openpe-
tation, is but lyttel esteemed. Lorde god, how
frequente and familiar a thyng with eue-
ry estate and degree throughout christen-
dome, is this reuerence othe on the Gospel-
les of christe. Howe it hath bene hitherto
kepte, it is so well knowne and had in daye-
ly experience, that I shal not neede to make
of the neglectynge thereof anye more de-
claration. And yet I wyl shewe, howe
the Gentyles, lackynge true religion,
hath

had solemne othes in greate honour, & howe terrible a thyng it was amonge them, to breake their othes or vowes. In so much as they supposed, that there was no power, victory or prosper, whiche mought be equall to the vertue of an othe.

**Periury
punished.**

¶ Amonge the Egyptians, they which were periured, hadde theyr heades strepen of, as well for that they violated the honoure due vnto god, as also that therby fayth and truste amonge people mought be delayed.

¶ The Scithes sware onely by the chaire or throne of theyr kynge, whiche yf they brake, they therefore suffered deathe.

**the forme
of an othe
among an-
cient Ro-
maynes.**

¶ The auncient Romaynes (as Cullus writeth) sware in this maner: He that shoulde sweare, helde in his hande a stone, and sayde in this wyse: The Lites, with the goddess therof being saulfe, so Jupiter cast me out of it, yf I deceiue willingly, as I caste from me this stone. And this othe was so straitly obserued, that it is not remembred, that euer any man brake it.

**the great-
est othe.**

¶ Plutarke writeth, that the fyrste Temple that Numa Pompilius, the second kynge of Romaynes, made in the citee of Rome, was the temple of faith. And also he declared, that the greatest othe, that mought be, was faythe: wherby nowe a dayes is vntaken for any othe, but mooste commonlye is vled in mortgage, or in suche thynges as men force not, though they be not beleued.

**Othes
vled.**

In daielely communication the matter las-
uoureth not, except it be as it were seasoned
with horrible othes. As by the holy bloudde
of **Christe**, his woundes, whiche for our res-
demption he painefully suffred, his glorious
herte, as it were numbles chopped in pecis.
Childezene (whiche abhorreth me to remem-
bre) doo plate with the armes and bones of
Christ, as thei were chery stones. The soule
of god, which is incōprehensible, and not to
be named of any creature without a wōder-
ful reuerence and dreade, is not only the oth
of great gentilmen, but also so vndiscretely
abused, that thei make it (as **I** mought say)
their goonnes, wherewith thei thunder oute
threatnynges and terrible manacis, whan
thei be in their fury, though it be at the dam-
nable plaie of disse. The masse, in which hos-
nourable ceremonie is lefte vnto vs the me-
moriall of **Christes** glorious passion, with
his corporall presence in forme of bread, the
intuocation of the thre diuine persons in one
deitte, with all the hole company of blessed
spirites and soules elect, is made by custome
so simple an othe, that it is now almost ne-
glected and little regarded of the nobilitie,
and is only vsed among husbände men, and
artificers: onelesse some tailour or barbour,
as well in his othes as in the excelle of his
apparail, will counterfaine and be lyke a
gentilman.

¶ In iudiciall causes, bee they of neuer so
lights

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lyght importaunce, thei that be no parties
but strangers, I meane witnesses and iur-
rates, whiche shall procede in the triall, doo
make no lesse othe, but openlye do renounce
the helpe of god and his saintes, and the be-
nefitte of his passion, if thei saie not true, as
far forth as thei knowe. Howe euill that is
observed, where the one partie in degree far
excedeth the other, or where hope of reward
or affection taketh place, no man is ignorāt,
sens it is euery yere moze commune thā har-
uest. Alas what hope shall we haue of anye
publike weale, where suche a pestilence reig-
neth? Doth not Salomon say. A man muſt
the swearyng, shall bee filled with iniqui-
tee, and the plague shall not departe from his
house: O mercifull god, howe manye men
be in this reame, whiche bee horrible swea-
ters, and commune iurates perjured? Than
howe muche iniquitee is there? and howe
manye plagues ar to be feared, where as be so
manye houses of swearers. Surely I am in
more dzeede of the terrible vengeance of god,
than in hope of amendement of the publike
weale. And so in mine opinion oughte all
other to be, whiche beleue, that god knoweth
all thing that is done here in earthe: and as
he hym selfe is all goodnesse, so loueth he all
thyng that is good, whiche is vertue, and hat-
teth the cōtrary, which is vice. Also all thing
that pleaseth hym, he preserueth, and that
thyng that he hateth, he at the last destroyeth,
but

but what vertue may be without verities, cal-
 led trouth, the declaration wherof is faith
 or fideliter: For as Cally saith: Faith is a **Faith.**
 constaunce and truth of thynges spoken or
 cogenanted. And in an other place he saith:
 Nothing kepeth so togiether a publike weale
 as doth faith. Than foloweth it well, that
 without faith a publike weale maye not cōs-
 tinue. And Aristotle saith. By the same craft
 or meanes, that a publike weale is first cons-
 tituted, by the same craft or meanes is it
 preserved. Than sens faith is the founda-
 tion of Justice, whiche is the chiefe constitut-
 tour and maker of a publike weale, and by
 the afoze mentioned auctoritee, cōseruatour
 of the same, I maye wel conclude that faith
 is bothe the originall, and (as it were) prin-
 cipal constitutour and conseruatour of the
 publike weale.

¶ It is also no littel reproche vnto a man,
 whyche esteemeth honestie, to bee litle in ma-
 hyng Promise: or whan he hath promised,
 to breake or neglecte it. Wherfoze nothings
 ought to be promised, whyche shoulde be in
 any wise contrary to Justice.

¶ On a time, one remembred kynge Agesi-
 laus of his promyse: By god, saied he, that
 is truthe, if it stande with Justice: if not,
 I than spake, but I promysed not.

¶ But now at this presente time, we may
 make the exclamation, that Seneca dothe,
 sayng: O the foule and dishonest confession
 of

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of the feutide of mischief of mankind nowe
a daies, seales bee moze sette by than soules.
Alas what reproche is it to christen me, and
retailing to Turkes and Sarazens, that no
things so exactly obserued amonge them,
as faith, consistyng in lawfull promise and
couenant: And amonge christen men, it is so
neglected, that it is moze often times broken
than kepte: And not onely sealinge (whiche
Seneca disdeigned, that it shuld be moze set
by than soules) is vneth sufficient, but als
so it is nowe come into suche a general con-
tempt, that all the learned men in the lawes
of this realme, whiche be also men of greate
wysedome, can not with all theyr studie
deuise so sufficient an instrument, to bynde
a man to his promise or couenant. But that
there shall bee some thyng therein espied, to
brynge it in argumente, if it bee denyed.
And in case that bothe the partes be equall
in estimation of credence, or els he that deny-
eth, superioure to the other, and no witness
ses deposeth on knoweladge of the thyng
in demaunde, the promise or couenant is vt-
terly frustrate, whiche is one of the princi-
pall decayes of the publike weale, as I shall
treate thereof more largely hereafter. And
here at this time I leaue to speake any more
of the partes of that mozte royall and necesse-
rary vertue, called Justice.

Of the noble vertue fortitude, and of
the two extreme vices, Audacitee,
and Timorosittee. Cap. viii.

It is to be noted, that to him, that is a
gouvernour of a publike weale, belon-
geth a double gouernance, that is to saie, **Gouers**
an interiour or inwarde gouernance, and **nāce don**
an exterior or outwarde gouernance. **ble.**
The fyrste is of his affectes and passions, whiche
do inhabite within his soule, and he sub-
tertes to reason. The seconde is of his chyl-
drene, his seruantes, and other subiectes to
his auctoritee. To the one and thother is re-
quired the vertue moralle called Fortitude,
whiche as much as it is a vertue, is a Medio-
critee or meane betwene two extremittees, the
one in surplussage, the other in lacke. The **audacitee**
surplussage is called Audacitee, the lacke **Timor**
timorosittee or feare: I name that Audacitee,
whiche is an excessiue and inordinate truste,
to escape all daungers, and causeth a man to
do such actes, as are not to be leoperded. **Timor**
Timorosittee is as wel whan a man feareth sus-
che thinges, as bee not to bee feared, as also **Timor**
whan he feareth thinges to be feared, more **ositee,**
than nedeth. For some thinges are necessa-
rie and good to bee feared, and not to feare
them is but rebuke. Infamie and reproche,
be of al honest men to be dreade. And not to
feare thinges that be terrible, againste whiche
the no power or witte of man can resiste, is
¶.iii. foolis

A valiant
man.

feolehardnesse, and worthye no prayse, as
earthquakes, rages of greate and sodayne
floudde, whiche dooe beare downe befoze
theyr mountaines and greate townes. Als
so the horrible furpe of sodayne fyre, des
uourynge all thing that it appzehendeth. yet
a man that is valiant, called in latine *Fortis*
tis, shall not in suche terrible aduentures
be resolued into waillynge or desperacion.
But where force constreignethe hym to as
hyde, and neyther power or wysdome als
saped, maye suffyce to escape, but wyl he or
no, he muste nedes peryshe, there dothe he
patiently susteine deth, whiche is the end of
all euils. And like as an excellent Physicion
cureth mooste dangerous diseases and dead
ly woundes: so dothe a man that is valiant,
auaunce hym selfe as inuincible in thynges
that do seme mooste terrible, not vnadvised
ly, and as it were in a beastly rage, but of a
gentle courage, and with pze meditation,
either by victory, or by deathe winnynge ho
nor and perpetuall memozy, the iust rewarde
of their vertue.

Being pze
thus the
hardy.

¶ Of this maner of valiaunce was *Horatius*
Cocles, an ancient Romaine, of whose
exaple I haue alrede writte in the first boke
where I comended the feate of swimmyng.
¶ *Pirrhue*, whome *Anniball* esteemed to be
the seconde of the mooste valiant capitaines,
assaultynge a stronge fortresse in Sicilie cal
led *Erice*, firste of all other scaled the wals.
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les, where he behaued him so valiantly, that of such as resisted some he slewe, and other by his maiestee and fierse countenaunce he dyd discomfyt. And finally befoze any of his armie, entred the walles, and there alone sustained the hole bzunt of his enemies, untill his people, whiche were without, at the last missing him, stered partly with shame, that they had so lost him, partly with his courageous example, toke good hert, and inforced them selues in such wyse, that they clymmed the walles, and came to the succour of Pyrrhus, and so by his prowesse wanne the garrison.

¶ What valiant hert was in the Romaine Mutius Scauola, whiche whan Porcena, kyng of Etruscians, had by great power, constrained the Romaines, to keepe them within their citee, toke on hym the habite of a begger, and with a sworde pryvely hyd vnder his garment, went to the enemies campe, where he being taken for a begger, was nothing mistrusted: and whan he had espied the kynges pavilion, he drew him thither, where he founde diuers noble men sytting. But for as much as he certainly knewe not, whiche of them was the kyng, at the last perceiving one to be in more riche appaile then any of the other, and supposynge hym to be Porcena, he se any manne espied him, stepte to the layed byde. And with his sworde gaue hym such a stroke, that he

Governour.

immediatly died. And Sciuola being taken
(for he coulde not escape suche a multitude)
boldly confessed, that his hande erred, and
that his entente was to haue claime hyng
Pozena. Wherwith the kinge (as reason
was) all chauffed, commaunded a great fier
forthwith to be made, wher Sciuola shoulde
haue ben brenned, but he nothinge abashed,
saied to the hyng: **T**hyne not Pozena,
that by my deathe onelye, thou maiste escape
the handes of the Romaines, for there be in
the cite thre hundred yonge men, suche as I
am, that be prepared to slea the by one mea-
nes or other, and to the accomplisment ther-
of, be also determined to suffre all tourmen-
tis, wherof thou shalte haue of me an expe-
rience in thy syght: and incontinently went
to the fyre, whiche was made for to brenne
hym, and with a gladde countenance didde
put his hande into the flame, and there helde
it without chaungyng of any countenance,
vntill his saied hande was brenned vnto
the fleshe. In lykewise he wolde haue put his
other hande into the fire, if he had not bene
withdrawen by Pozena, who wonderinge
at the valiant courage of Sciuola, licenced
hym to retourne vnto the cite. But whan
he considered, that by the wordes of Sciuola,
so great a number of yonge men of
semblable prowes, were confederate to his
destruction, so that er all they coulde be ap-
prehended, his life shoulde be alwaye in cos-
pard

wardy, he dispayrnyng of winning the citee of Rome, raised his siege, and departed.

¶ In what actes fortitude is, and considerations thereto belongyng. Chap. ix.

BUt all thowghe I haue nowe reherſed sundry examples, to the commendaciō of fortitude, concernyng actes martiall, yet by the way I wold haue it remembred, that the praise is properly to bee referred vnto the vertue, that is to ſaie, to enterpriſe thinges dreadfull, either for the publicke weale, or for wyninge of perpetuall honour, or els for eſchewing reproche or diſhonour. Wherunto be annexed theſe conſideracions, what importaunce the enterpriſe is, and wherefoze it is done, with the tyme and oportunitie whan it ought to bee done. For (as Cully ſaith) to entre in battaille, and to fight vnaduiſedly, is a thyng wyld and a maner of beaſtes: but thou ſhalt fight valiantly whan time requirerh and alſo neceſſitee. And alwaie death is to be preferred before Defuitude, or any diſhoneſtie. And therfoze the actes of Anniball, againſte the Saguntines, whiche neuer did him diſpleaſure, is not accounted for any prowes. Neis ther Catiline, whiche for his ſingular commodities, and a fewe other, makyng detestable warres againſt his owne countrey, endeavouryng to haue benined the noble citee of

Æ. v.

Rome

Gouernour.

Rome, and to haue destroyed all the good men, is not numbred among valiaunt men, all though he fought manly, and with greate courage, vntill he was slaine.

¶ What auailed the boldnes of Marro and Flaminius, noble capitaines of Romaines, whiche despising the promesse and crafte of Anniball, & contempnyng the sobre counsaile of Fabius, hauing only trust in their owne hardines, lost two noble armies, wherby the power of the Romaines was nere vtterly perished. Wherfore esteemes I say, that a valiant man is he, that dothe tollerate or suffre that, whiche is nedeful, and in su che wise as is nedeful, and for that which is nedeful, & also whā it is nedeful. And he that lacketh anye of this may be called hardy, but not valiant. ¶ Moreover, although they, whiche be hardy, or persons desperate, haue a similitude & seme to be valiant, yet be they not valiant, no moze than kynges in mapegames and enterludes be kynges. For they that be hardy, or they come to the peryll, seme to be fierse and eigre, and in beginning their enterpryse wonderfull hastie, but whan they fele the thyng more harde and greuous than they esteemed, their courage decaith more and more, and as me abashed and vnprepared, their vertes vtterly do faile, & in conclusion they appere more faint, than they that be cowardes.

¶ Also in Desperacion cā not be fortitude: for that beyng a mozell vertue, is euer voluntary.

who may
be called
a valiant
man.

luntary. Desperation is a thyng as it were constrained, ne hath anye maner consideracion, where fortitude expendeth every thyng and acte diligently, and doth also moderate it with reason.


¶ Here nowe appereth (as I suppose) that neyther they, whiche employ their force without iuste cause of necessitee, ne they, whiche without forecast, or (as I mought say) circumspection, will take in hande an harde enterprise: ne they, whiche headlonge wyl fall in to dangers, from whens there is no hope to escape: nor yet me desperate, whiche dye wyllyngly without anye motion of honoz or zeale toward the publike weale, be in the number of valiant persons, but of a refuse company, and rather to be reckned with beastes savage, than amonge men, whiche do participate with reason. For as Curtius saith: *Q. curt.*
It appertaineth to men, that be valiant, rather to despise death, than to hate lyfe.

¶ A Man is called in latine Vir, whereof saith Cully, vertue is named. And the most propre vertue longynge to a man, is Fortitude, wherof bee two excellent proprietees, Fortis that is to saye, the contempt of death, and of tude, greefe. But what very fortitude is, he more plainly declareth afterwarde, in a more larger circumscription, sayng. Thynges humane ought to be litel esteemed, deathe not regarded, labours & griefes to be thought tolerable. When this is ratified by iugement and

Gouernour.

Aristotle

and a constant opinion, than that is valiant and stable fortitude. But therunto I wold wolde be added, whiche opinion and iudgemente proceedeth of a reason, and not repugnant to iustice. And thā it shal accorde with this saying of Aristotle. A valiant man suffreth, and dothe that, whiche belongeth to fortitude, for cause of honestie. And a litte tell before he saie: A man that is valiant, as well suffreth, as doth that, whiche agreeth with his worchip, and as reason commaundeth. So no violence or sturdye minde, lacking reason and honestie, is any part of fortitude. Vnto this noble vertue be attendat, or as it were continuall adherentes, diuers vertues, whiche doo ensue, and be of righte great estimacion.

 Of painefulnesse, the firste companion of Fortitude. Chap. x.

In them, whiche bee either gouernours or capitaines, or in other office, wherunto appertaineth greate cure or dispatching of sundry greate affaires, painefulnes, named in latin *Tollerantia*, is wonderfull commendable. For therby thinges be in suche wise exploited, that vtilitee proceedeth therof, and seldome repentance. For as muche as thereof cometh an excellent fruite, called oportunitie, whiche is euer ripe, & neuer in no other estate. For lacke of this vertue

the, muche wylcedome and many a ballaunte enterpryse, haue perished and tourned to none effecte. For if thinges sharply inuented, prudently discussed, and balliantly enterprised, be not diligently folowed, and without ceassing applied and pursued, as it were in a moment all thing is subuerted: and the peines befoze taken with the tyme therein spent, is viterly frustrate.

The peinesfullnesse of Quintus Fabius, (being dictatour or principall capitaine of the Romans) in leadinge his armye by mountains, and other harde passages, so disappoynted Annibal of the hope of victorie, where in he so muche glozied, that at the last he trained and drew Annibal and his host into a fildes, inclosed about with mountains, and depe riuers, where Fabius had so environed hym, by the fortifying of two mountaynes with his people, that they were in ieopardy, either to be famished, for lacke of vitaille, or els in fleing, to be slaine by the Romans, if the craftie and politike wytte of Annibal had not deliuered them. Whiche for the notable inuencion, I will borrowe so much time of the reader, to renewe the remembrance therof in our englishe tongue.

The polli

Annibal, perceiuing the daunger that he and his army were in, commaunded in the depe bal to els of the night, whan nothyng was sterryng, cape fro to be brought afoze hym, aboute two thousande great oxen and bulles, whiche a litell maines. befoze

Gouernment.

before his men had taken in forrageyng, and caused faggottes made of drye stiches to be fastned vnto their hoznes, and sette on fyre. The beastes troubled with the flame of fyre, ranne as they were woode vp towarde the mountaines, where as laye the hoste of the Romaines, Anniball with his holle armye folowynge in aray. The Romaines, whyle they kepte the mountaines, beyng so affrayde of this new and terrible sight, forsake their places. And Fabius dreadinge the deceitfull witte of Anniball, kepte the armye within the trenche, and so Anniball with his hoste escaped without domage. But Fabius, beyng peinesfull in pursuynge Anniball from place to place, awaityng to haue him at aduantage, at the last did so fatigate hym and his hoste, that thet by in conclusion his power minyshed, and also the strength of the Carthaginenses, of whom he was generall capitaine. In so muche as they were at the last constrained to countermaunde him by sundry messangers, willinge hym to abandone the warres in Italy, and to retourne to the defence of his owne citee. Whiche by the opinion of moste excellent wryters shulde neuer haue hapned, if Fabius wolde haue leste any parte of his purpose, either for the tediousnesse of the peine and trauaile, or for the intolletable rebukes, geuen vnto hym by Minutius, who embayded hym with cowardise.

Amonge

Amonge the vertues, whiche abounded in Julius Cesar, none was accounted more excellent, than that in his counsaile, affaires, and exploitures, he omitted no time, ne forsooke any peine. Wherfore mooste soonest of any man, he atchieued and brought to good passe all thyng that he enterprised.

If Suppose ye that the same Anniballe, of whom we late spake, coulde haue wonne frome the Romaines, all Spayne, and haue perced the mountaines, called Alpes, makynge a waye for his armie, where before was neuer any passage, and also haue gotten all Italye, vnto Rome gates, if he had not bene a man peinesfull, and of laboure incomparable?

Julius Cesar, after he had the intier gouernance and dominion of the empire of peinesfull Rome, neuer omitted labour and diligence ne in hea as well in commune causes as priuate, concerning the defence and assistance of innocentes. Also he laborously and studiously discussed controuersies, whiche almost dayely, he herde in his owne person.

Cesare, and both Antonines emperours of Rome, and for their vertue worthy to be emperours of all the worlde, as well in exteriours affaires, as in the affaires of the citee, were euer so continually occupied, that vnneth they founde any litle time, to haue any recreation or solace.

Alexander also, for his incomparable grauitie

The pa:
terne of a
perfite go
uernour.

uisee, called Severus, beyng but of the age
of .xviii. yerres, whan he first was made em
perour, fyndinge the noble citee of Rome,
than maistres of the worlde, througely cor
rupted with most at hominable vices, by the
most shamefull example and liuing of that
detestable monster, Marius Helioabalus,
next emperour before hym, a great parte of
the senate and nobilitie, being resolued into
semblable vices, the chynalrie disparied,
marciall prowes abandoned, and welnighe
the maiestee imperiall dissolued and brought
in contempt, was so inflamed with the zeale
of the pristinate honoure of the Romaines,
that he utterly laied apart all pleasures and
quietnes, and wholy gaue his witte and bod
dy to study and traualles intollerable, and
chosyng out of all partes of the worlde, men
of greattest wysedome and experience, and
consulting with them, neuer ceassed, vntill
he hadde reduced as well the Romaines, as
all other citees and prouinces, vnto them
subiecte, to their olde moderation and tem
peraunce.

Many other examples coulde I reherse
to the commendacion of painefulnesse: but
these shall suffyke at this presente tyme, to
proue that a gouernour must nedes be paine
full in his owne person, if he desyre to haue
those thinges prosper, that are vnder his gos
ternaunce.

Of

¶ Of the noble and faire vertue named
 Patientie. Cap.xi.

Patience is a noble vertue appertaining
 as well to inwarde gouernance, as to
 exteriour gouernance: and is the vaine-
 quithour of iniuries, the sure defence
 againste all affectes & passions of the soule,
 retainpng alwayes gladde semblant in ad-
 uersities and dolour.

¶ Sainct Ambrose saith in his booke of offi-
 ces, Better is he, that contemneth iniurie,
 than he that soroweth. For he that contem-
 neth it, as he nothing felte, passeth not on it.
 But he that is sorowfull, is therewith tour-
 mented, as though he felte it. ambrosi⁹
Off. 1.

¶ Which was well proued by zeno Eleas-
 tes, a noble philosopher, who beyng a man
 of excellent wisedome and eloquence, came
 to a citee, called Agrigentum, where reigned
 Phalaris, the moste cruell tyranne of all the
 worlde, who kept and vled his owne people
 in moste miserable seruitude. And firste he
 thought by his wisedome and eloquence, to
 haue so perswaded the tyrann to temperance
 that he shoulde abandon his cruell and aua-
 ricious appetite: but custome of vice more
 preuayled in him than profitable counsaile.
 Wherfore zeno, hauinge pittie of the wret-
 ched astate of the people, excited diuersa no-
 ble men, to deliuer the citee of that terrib-
 le condicion. This counsaile was not so les-
 p.1. scellig

Gouernour.

cretely genen, but that notice therof came to the tyran, who causyng all the people to be assembled in the market place, caused zeno there to be cruciate with sundry turmentes, alwayes demaunding of him, who did participate with him of his sayed counsaile: but for no peines wolde he confesse anye person, but induced the tyranne to haue in mistruste his nexte frendes and familie seruantes. And reprimyng the people for their cowardise and dread, he at the last so inflamed the into libertie, that sodainly with a great violence they fell on the tyran, and pressed hym with stones. The olde zeno, in all his exquisite tourmentes neuer made any lamentable crye, or despayre to be relued.

But for this fourme of Paciente, this onely example sufficeth at this tyme, sens there be so frequeute exammples of martyrs, whyche for true religion susteyned patientlye not onely equall tourmentes with zeno, but also farre excedyng. But nowe wyl I write of that Paciente, that pertaineth vnto interior gouernance, wherby the naturall passions of man be subdued, and the malice of fortune sustained. For they whyche be in austorice, and be occupied aboute great affaires, their liues be not onely replenished with labours and greuous displeasure, but also they be subiectes to sundry chaunces.

**Pacience
howe it**

A The meane to obtayne Paciente, is by two thynges principally, A directe and by right

right conscience, and true and constant opinion in the estimaciō of goodnes, whiche selfe doone cometh onely of nature, excepte it be wonderfull excellent, but by the diligēt study of veray philosophy (not that whiche is sophisticate, and consisteth in sophismes) nature is therto prepared and holpen. This opinion is of such power, that ones cleuyng faste to the mind, it draweth a mā as it were by violence to good or euill. Therfore Cullis saith: Like as whan the blood is corrupted, and either fleume or colere, blacke or redde, is superhabundant, than in the bodye be engendred sores and diseases, so the vexacion of euill opinions, and their repugnancie, dispoyleth the minde of all helth, and troubleth it with griefes.

maye be
obteyned

Opinion
good or ill

Cull. q. 3

Beautie,

Contrarywyle afterwarde Cullis describeth good Opinion, and calleth it the beautye of the soule, saynge in this wise: As of bodily membres, there is an apt figure, with a maner pleasantnesse of colour, and that is called beautie: so in the soule, the equalitee and constance of opinions and iudgements, ensuyng vertue, with a stable, and stedfast purpose, or conteynyng the selfe same effect, that is in vertue, is named Beautie. Which sentences depely inuestigate, and wel perceiued, by them that be aboute princes and gouernours, they may consider, how ware and circumspecte they oughte to be in the inducynge them to opinions.

Gouernour.

Of patience in susteininge wronges
and rebukes. Cap. xii.

Vnto him that is valiant of courage,
it is a greate peine and difficultee to
susteine iniurie, and not to be forthe
with reuenged: yet often times there
is accompted moze valiantnes, in the sus-
terance than in an hastie reuengeing. As it
was in Antoninus the emperour, called the
philosopher, againste whō rebelled one Cas-
sius, and vsurped the imperiall maiestie in
Spyna, and in the east partes, yet at the last
the same Cassius being slaine by the capitai-
nes of Antonine nexte adioynng, he therof
vntwyttig, was therewith soze greued. And
therfore takyng to him the chylzen of Cas-
sius, entreated them honorably, wherby he
acquired euer after, the incōparable & moſte
assured love of his subiectes.

As muche dishonour and hatred his son
Commodus wan by his impacience, where
in he so exceded, that for as much as he found
not his haine hette to his pleasure, he caus-
ed the keeper therof to bee throwen into the
hote brening fornaie. What thing mought
bee moze odible, than that moſte diuely the
impacience?

Julius Cesar, whan Catullus the poete
wrote againste hym contumelious or repro-
cheable verses, not onely forgate him, but to
make him his frende, caused him oftentimes

to suppe with hym.

The noble emperor Augustus, when it was shewed hym, that many men in the citee hadde of him vnspyttyng? wordes, thought it a sufficient answer, that in a free citee men muste haue theyr tongues at libertee. No? ne yet was with any person, that spake euill of him, in word or contenance wozs discōtented remedy a

Some menne wyl not praise this maner gaist ims, of pacience, but account it for foolishshenes: pacience, but yf they beholde on the other syde, what in commodytie commeth of impacience, howe a man is therwith abstracte from reason, and tourned in to a monstrous figure, and do conferre all, that with the stable cōsuetude and pleasaunt regard of him that is paciente and with the commoditie that dothe ensue therof, they shall affirme, that simplicitie is an excellent wysdome.

Moreouer, the best way to be aduēged, is to to cōtemne iniurie and rebuke, & liue with suche honestie, that the doer shall at the last be therof ashamed, or at the lest, lese the fruit of his malise, that is to saye, shall not reioyse & haue glozie of thy hynderance or damage.

Of pacience in repulse or hynderance of promotion. Ca. xii.

TO a man, hauing a gentill courage, likewise as nothinge is so pleasante, or equally reioyseth hym, as rewarde
p. iii. or

Governour.

of preferment sodainely geuen, or about his merite: so nothyng maye be to him more displeasunt or peinefull, than to be neglected in his peine takynge, and the rewarde and honour, that he loketh for, and for his merites is worthy to haue, to be geue to one of lasse vertue, and perchaunce of no vertue or laudable qualitee.

I Plato in his Epistoll to Dion kynge of Sicile saith: It is good right, that they, whiche good men, do the semblable, obtaine honoz, whiche they be worthy to haue.

Common:
Duties
whiche do
happen by
the aduan-
cement of
good men

I Andoubtedlye in a prince or noble man, may be nothyng more excellent, ye nothyng more necessarye, than to aduaunce men after the estimation of their goodnes, and that for two speciall comodities, that come therof. Firste that thereby they prouoke many men to apprehende vertue. Also to them, whiche be good, and al redy aduaunced, they geue suche courage, that they endeuour themselves withall their power, to encrease that oppynion of goodnesse, whereby they were broughte to that aduaancement, whiche nedes muste be to the honoure and benefite of thole, by whō they were so promoted. Contrarywyle, where men frome their infancy haue ensued vertue, worne the flouresynge tyme of yowth in painefull studye, abandonyng all lustes and other thyng, whiche at that time is pleasaunte, trustynge thereby to profite the publike weale, and to obtaine honoure

honour: whan eyther their vertue and tras-
uaile is lyttel regarded, or the prefermente,
whyche they looked for, is geuen to other not
equalle in merite, it not onely percereth their
herte with muche anguyshe, and oppzesseth
them with discomforte, but also mortifieth
the courages of many other, whyche be apte-
ly disposed to studie vertue, and hoped ther-
by to haue the propre rewarde therof, whis-
che is commendacion and honoure, whyche
beyng geuen to men, lackynge vertue and
wyledome, shall be occasion for them to do
euill as Democritus saith: For who de-
testeth, but that auaritie in a good man doth
publishe his vertue, whiche before laye hid:
In an euill man it ministreth boldenes and
lycense to do euill, whyche by dreade was be-
fore couered.

Surely this Repulse, or (as they vulgar-
ly sprake) puttyng backe frome promotion,
is no lyttel peyne or discomforte, but it maye
be withstande, or at the least remedied with
Patience, whyche may bee in this wyse in-
duced.

Patience

Fyrste, consydering that the world was howe it
neuer so constaunt that at all tymes before, maye be
good men were iustely rewarded, and none induced,
but they only promoted.

Lato, called Attensis, at whose wyles-
dome al the world wondred, and whose gras-
uitee, as wel the Senat and people of Rome,
as other kinges and princes, reuerenced,
p.iii. lokyng

Governour.

loking to be one of the Consuls, was openly
relected, wherwith his frendes and kinseme
toke no litle discomforte. But Cato hym
selfe, so lytell regarded that repulse, that
where alwaies he went very homelye, he the
nexte daye folowynge, decked and trymmed
him selfe moze freshely than he was wonte;
and whan he had shewed him selfe so to the
people, at after noone he walked with one of
his frendes in the market place, bare legged:
in sngle apparile, as he was accustomed.

S Scipio called Nasica, who by the hoole
senate was iudged the beste man in the citee,
and of an auncient house, was lykewise put
backe, from beyng Consule.

L Lelius likewise, whiche was openly cal
led the wyse man, was semblably refused.

And diuers other, of whō histories do make
mention, were abiette, whan they hadde well
deserued honours, and their inferiours in
merites promoted.

A Also a mans conscience shall well come
to pte him, whan he hath so liued, that where
he is knowen, men dooe iudge hym woorthye
the preferment. And than may he saye to the,
whiche maruayle, why he is not aduanced,

W wise s^r as Cato sayed to a person, that tolde to him
tence of
Cato,
that men wondered, whye amonge so manye
noble mens images, as were sette vp in the
citee, Catos image was not espied. By God
saith Cato, I had leuer that men wondred
why I haue noone image sette vp, than why
men

men shoulde set vp myne image. So if men meruaile, why a manne is not aduaunced, knowynge him a good man, than iudge thet him to be worthy promotion, whyche iudgement procedeth of fauoure: than if he lacke promotion, yet hath he perfect gloze, whyche euery noble herte desireth. For Culli saith: The perfecte and most principal gloze, consisteth in those thre thinges: If the multitude loue vs: if they put confidence in vs: yf also, as it were meruailling at vs, they thinke vs worthy to haue honour geuen vnto vs.

¶ With this gloze and clenens of conscience, shall a wise man contente him, and be induced to patience, and not be greued with his fortune, but to folowe Democritus, in laughyng at the blynde iudgements of men, in bestowyng promotions.

¶ I omitte, at this time, to write anye more of this vertue patience, sens to the institucion of a gouernour, this seemeth to be sufficient, to the residue he shalbe better perswaded by the workes of Plutarke, Seneca, and Montaigne, where they write of patience, which workes he maye rede at his leasure,

¶ Of Magnanimitee, which maye be named ballaunt courage. Cap. xiiii.

Magnanimitee is a vertue muche commendable, and also expedient to be in a gouernour, and is as I haue said,
p.v. a com

a rōpanton of fortitude: And maye be in this
wyle defyned, that it is an excellencye of
minde, concerning thinges of greate impor-
taunce or estimation, doying all thyng, that
is vertuous, for the achieuing of honour.

Courage

¶ But nowe I remembre me, this woorde
Magnanimitie, beyng yet straunge, as late
borrowed out of the latine, shall not content
all men, and specially them, whom nothinge
contenteth out of their accustomed Mumpsi-
ngs: I will aduenture to put for Magnani-
mitie, a woorde more familiar, calling it good
Courage, whiche hauing respect to the sayde
definiō, shall not seme much inconuenient.
But nowe concerning a more larger descri-
ption of the sayed vertue, Aristotle saith:
That man seemed to bee of noble courage,
that is worthy, & also iugeth him selfe worthy
to haue thinges that be great. He saith also
afterwarde. Noble courage is an ornamente
of vertues, for it maketh them the more am-
ple, & without them the her selfe maye not be.
¶ But I will for a littel tyme leaue this no-
ble Philosopher Aristotle, and reuerently in-
terpret a place in the offices of Culli, where
he moste eloquently and plainely setteth out
this vertue sayng: Alwaye a valiantte and
noble courage is discerned by two thynges
specially, wherof one is in dispisynge thiges
outwarde, whan a man is perswaded, nei-
ther to meruaile at anye thyng, neither to
wylhe or desyre any thyng, but that whiche

is honest. Moreover, that a man shulde not bowe for any fortune or trouble of minde. A nother thing is: whan thou art of that minde or courage, as I befoze saied, that thou then practise those thynges, not onelye whyche be great, and moste profitable, but also that be very difficle and full of labour and perille, as wel concernynge mans lyfe, as manye of ther thynges ther to pertynyng.

¶ And afterwarde the same Cully saith: To esteeme litle those thynges, whyche vnto the moze part of men semeth excellent, & also with reason firme and stable to contynue them, is spgne of a noble and valiaunt courage. Also to tollerate those thynges whyche do seme bytter or greivous (wherof there be many in the lyfe of man, and in fortune) in such wyse as thou departe not fro the estate of nature, neither from the worshipp pertynyng vnto a wise man, betokeneth a good courage, and also muche constaunce.

¶ By this it semeth, that Magnanimitye, or good courage, is as it were the garmente of vertue, wherwith she is sette oute (as I moughte saye) to the vitermoste. I meane not, that therby vertue is amended or made moze beauteous, whyche of hir selfe is perfecte: but lyke wyse as a ladye of excellent beautee, though she bee alwayes faire, yet a riche and a freshe garmente declareth hir estate, and causeth hir the moze to be looked on, and therby hir naturall beautee
to be

Gouernour.

to be the better perceiued. Semblably dothe Magnanimitie, ioynd with any vertue, set it wonderfully furth to be beholden, and (as I mought saie) meruailed at, as it shall appere abundantly in the examples ensuyng, **A**gesilaus, kynge of Lacedemonia, in the beginning of his youth, perceiuing all Grece to bee in greate feare, for the same that was sprade of the Persians, cominge with an infinite armie: with a noble courage profred, not onely to defende his owne countrey, but also with a smal hooste to passe the sea into Asia, & from thens either to bringe victorie of the Persians, or els assure a honorable peace. With whose courage, the Lacedemonies hyghely recomforted, deliuered vnto him ten thousande souldiours, with the whiche hooste he wente into Asia, and there vainquished the Persians, and returned ioyfully into his countrey, with his people all saule, to his perpetuall renoume, and also the honoz and suretie of all Grece.

Antigonus king of Macedonia, beyng on the sea, one of his capitaines aduised him to departe, sayng: The nauie of his ennemye was muche greater in number than his: wherunto with a noble courage he answered: And for howe many shippes accompte you our person? wherewith his people tooke suchecomfort, that thei boldly dyd set forth and vainquished their enemies.

Suche noble courage was in great kynge
Alexans

Alexander, that in his warres agaynste Das
rus, he was sene of all his people fyghtynge
in the plesse of his enemyes bare headed.

I will not be so vncurteise, to leue vnre-
membred in this place, the notable magnani-
mitie of a kyng of Englande, whiche I hap-
ned to reade late in an olde chronicle.

Edgar, who in the time that the Saxons
had this royaume in subiection, hadde sub-
dewed all the other kynges Saxons, & made
them his tributaries. On a time he had them
all with him at diner: & after it was shewed
him, that Wynande kyng of Scottes, had
saied, that he wondred how it shoulde hap-
pen, that he and other kynges, that were tal
and great personages, wolde suffre them sel-
ues to be subdued by so litle a body as Ed-
gar was. Edgare dissembled & answered
nothyng, but faining to go on hunting, toke
with hym the Scottishe kyng in his com-
pany, and purposely withdrew hym from
them that were with him: And causyng by a
secrete seruant, two swordes to be conueide
into a place in the focest, by him appointed,
As soone as he came thither, he toke the one
sworde, and deliuered the other to Wynande.
bydding hym to proue his strengthe: and to
assaye, whether his dedes wolde ratifie his
wordes. Wherat the Scottishe kyng being
abashed, beholding the noble courage of Ed-
gar, with an horrible feare confessed his er-
rour, desirynge pardon, whiche he with most
humble

humble submission, at the laste obtained.

That noble kinge Edgar, declaringe by his Magnanimitee, that for his vertue and not by chaunce, he was elected to reigne ouer so noble a region.

I Plato for his diuine wisdom and eloquence, named the God of philosophers, was sent for by Dionysie kinge of Sicile, to the entent, as it seemed, that he wolde be of him instructed, concerninge the politike gouernance of his realme. But whan he hadde ben with him a certaine space, and wolde not flatter with the kyng, and vpholde his tyrannye, the kinge became wery of him, in so muche that if it had not ben at the request of Architas, prince of Tarent, he wolde haue put him to deathe. Wherefore partlye at the desyre of that prince, partlye for feare of the Athenienses, he licenced Plato to departe withoutt domage: but at his departynge, he sayde vnto him, as it were in dispite: How euill wylte thou speake of me Plato, whan thou comimest among thy companions and scholers? Thā Plato with a noble courage answered: God defende, there shoulde be in my schole so muche vacant time frō the studie of wisdom, that there moughte be anye place left, ones to remembre the.

Now wil I make an ende of this vertue, and procede further to write of some vices, whiche commonly do folow magnanimitee, and with great difficultee maye be eschewed.

Of Obstynacy, a familiar vice, folow-
yng Magnanimitie. Cap.xx.

The prince of Oratours, Mart^r Cul-
lius, in his first boke of offices, saith:
In height and greatnes of courage,
is most conest ingendred Obstynacye **obstinarte**
& inordinate despye of Soueraignetee. Ob-
stynacy is an affection immoucable, fixed to
wyll, abandoninge reason, whych is ingen-
dred of Pride, that is to saye, whan a man
esteemeth so much him selfe aboue anye other,
that he reputeth his owne witte onely, to be
in perfection, and contemneth al other coun-
saile. Undoubtedly this is an horrible and pe-
rilous vice, and verpe familiar wyth theym,
whiche be of moste noble courages. By it
many a valyant capitayne and noble prince,
haue not onely fallen theym selves, but also
brought all theyr countreys in daunger, and
offentymes to subuercion and ruine.

The wyse kyng Salomon sayth: Among
proude men be alway coniections. And they
that do all thynges wyth counsaile, be gover-
ned by wysedome. I nede not to reherse ex-
amples out of olde wyters, what damage hath
ensued of Obstynacie, consydering that eue-
ry hytore is ful therof, and we stil haue it in
dayly experience. But of one thyng am I
sure, where Obstynacy ruleth, and reason
lacketh place, there counsaile attaleth not, and
where counsaile hath not auctoritie & franchises,
there

Governour.

power. II

there maye nothinge be perfecte. Salomon sayth Where be many counsailes, there the people is in suretee. Now wil I declare the resydue of Cullies sentence, concernyng inordinate desyre of soueraignetes, whych is properly called Ambicion.

¶ Of an other vice folowynge magnanimitie, called Ambicion. cap. xvi.

It was not without a high and prudent consideration, that certaine lawes were made by the Romaines, whiche were named the lawes of Ambicion, whereby men were restrained in the citie to obtaine offices and dignities in the Publike weale, either by geuynge rewardes, or by other sinister labour or meanes: And they, whiche by that law were condēned, were put to death without any fauour. Merely it was a noble lawe, and for all places, necessarie, consyderynge what inconuenience hapneth by this batine and superfluous appetite. Witnesses among the Romaines, Sylla, Marius, Cicerbo, Cinna, Pompei, and Cesar, by whose ambition mo Romaines were slaine, than in acquiring the empire of al the worlde, Sylla condemned, and caused to be slaine, foure score thousand Romaines, besyde manye mo that were slayne in the battailles, betwene hym and the bothe Marius.

¶ Also Pompei, and Julius Cesar, the one suffring

suffring no piere, the other no superiour by
their ambition caused to be slayne betwene
them, people innumerable, and subueried
the best and most noble publyke weale of the
world, and finally hauing litle time of reioy-
sing their vnlesful desire. Pope shamesfully
fleinge, had his head striken of by the com-
maundement of Ptolomee, kinge of Egypt
vnto whom as vnto his frende he fledde for
sauiour. Cesar the vanquisher, was mur-
dred in the Senate with daggers, by theym
whom he most specially fauoured.

¶ I could occupie a great volume with hys
stoies of them, which conetinge to mounts
into excellent dignities, did thereby bring ins
to extreme perilles, bothe theym selues and
also their countreis. For as Tacitus saye the
wonderfull elegantly: With them whiche
desire soueraigntee, there is no meane place
betwene the toppe and the steppe downe. To
the which woordes agreeing Cully saye the
Highe auctorities shulde not much be despy-
red, or rather not to be taken at some tyme
and oftentimes to be lefte and forsaken. So
did Sulla whom I late spake of. And Vio-
clesian Emperour of Rome, who after he
had gouerned the empire .xxv. yeres honou-
rablye (if he had not bene polluted wth the
bloudde of innumerable Chriстен men) wil-
lingly abandoned the crowne and dignitie
imperiall, and liued ix. yeres on his ppyuate
possessions. And on a tyme being desired of

cl. off. 1.

Sextus
Aurelius

Gouernour.

Herculius and **Galerius**, vnto whiche he had resigned the empire, to take esteemes on hym the gouernance, abhorring it as a pestilence, answered in this wyse: I wold ye dyd see the herbes, that I haue with myne owne handes sowne and set at **Salona**, surely ye wolde not than in this wyse aduise me.

Also Octavius Augustus, whiche in felicitie passed all emperours, demised often tymes with his frendes, to haue resigned his auctorite. And yf at that tyme the Senate had ben as wel furnysshed with noble & wyse personages, as it was before the ciuile warres, betwene **Cesar** and **Pompey**, it is to be thought, that he woulde surely haue restored the publyke weale to his pristinate glory. But nowe lette vs see, what is the cause, that **Ambicion** is so pernycious to a publyke weale.

Whyt is it? In mine opiniõ it is for two causes principally. Firste for as muche as they, whiche be of that courage and appetite, whan they be in auctorite, suppose all thyng to be lesseful that lyeth them. And also by reason of their prehemynence, wolde so be separat fro other, that no man shulde controlle them, or warne them of their enormities, and finally wold do what they lyst without contradiction.

Whereof do ensue tyuers iniuries and subuersion of iustice. And this, whiche I haue now said, **Cicillio** affirmeth to be true, saying: Surely it is a greates difficultie, where thou wol

Woldest be aboue all me, to obserue equytie.
 Whyche is the thing moste approued to ius-
 tice. And shortlye after he saith: The more
 higher of courage that a man is, and desyr-
 rous of glory, the sooner is he incited to doo
 thynges agaynste right. Seing it was so, in
 the tyme of Cully, whan almoste every man
 that was in auctoritee, had excellēt lernynge,
 (the Romaynes bryngyng vp their chyldrene
 in study of mortal philosophy) what shall we
 suppose in our tyme, whan fewe men in au-
 thoritee do care for lernynge? Why shoulde
 we thynke to bee more iustice nowe vled in
 auctoritee, than was in the tyme of Cullye?
 Is there nowe priuate affection, party-
 cular fauour, displeasure, and hatred, as was
 at that tyme? I woulde the readers herof,
 shoulde be iudges, examynyng these my wo-
 des with dayely experyence.

The seconde cause, that condemneth Ambition, is couetise of treasure, therewith to couetise
 maynteyne their ostentacion and vainglorie,
 whyle ambitious persons do call their ho-
 nour, wherby they be procured to spnde vn-
 iuste meanes by their auctoritee, to prouide
 for suche substance, wherewith they maye
 be not onelye satisfyed (they beynge insatya-
 ble) but accordig to their own appetite fullye
 sufficed. Wherfore the philosophers, called
 Stoici, vled this sentēce: Greate indigence or
 lacke cōeth not of pouertee, but of great plen-
 ty, for he that hath muche, shall nede muche.

Gouernour.

plutarch
in apoph:
thegma.

But certes suche ambacions personnes maye wel cōsider, that the magnificence and pompe, whiche they couste, is not so muche wondred at, as auarice and collection of money is vniuersally hated. Wherefoze Darius kyng of Persia, and father to Xerxes, when he had commanded a subsidye to be leuied of his subiectes, demāded the chiefe men of the countreys, whether they founde theym selfe greued. They answeringe, that they were in a metely good case, he commaunded the one halfe to be forthwith restored, lest he of anye auarice shulde be suspected. By the whiche acte, he stablyshed hys dignitee, and made it moze perfecte.

els. off. 3. **I** Moreover, Tully saith, to take anye thyng frome an other man, and one man to encrease hys cōmodities with an other mans detrimēt, is moze repugnant to nature, thā deathe, thā pouertie, paine, or other thyngs that mought happen, eyther to the bodye or other goodes worldly.

The true definition of abstinence and Continence, cap. xvii.

Abstinence and Continence bee also companions of Fortitude, & be noble & excellent vertues. I can not tell, whether there be anye to be preferred before them, specially in men hauinge auctoritee, they beinge the byddes of two capital vices,

vices, that is to saye, Avarice and Lecherie. Whiche vices beinge reſeigned by a noble man, that liueth at libertye and without controullemente, procureth vnto him, beſide the fauour of god, immortal glory. And that citie or realme, whereof the gouernours with theſe vices, be lytel or nothyng acquainted, do abyde longe in prosperitee. For as Valerius Maximus ſaith: where ſo euer this ſeuere peſtilence of mankinde hath entrie, Inſurie reigneth, reproche or infamy is ſpade, aduoureth the name of nobilitie. The proceſſes of theſe, ii. vertues, be in this maner.

Abſtinance is, wherby a man reſeigneth from any thing, whiche he maye leſully take, for a better purpoſe. Continence, is a vertue, whiche keepeth the pleaſante appetite of man vnder the yoke of reaſon. Ariſtotelle, makynge them both but one, deſcribeth them vnder the name of continence, ſaynge: He that is continent, ſo muche as he knoweth that couetous deſires be euyl, dothe abandon them, reaſon perſwadinge him. For this tyme I take abſtinance, for the reſuſynge of money, poſſeſſions, or other thing ſemblable: Continence, the onely forbearynge the vnicenſual company of women.

Martius Coriolanus, a noble yong man, whiche lineally deſcended from Antius, ſome time kyng of Romaines, whan he had done many valiant actes, and atchieued ſundry enterpryſes, was accordynge to hys merites

Governour.

commended in the army by Postumius the
kinges consulle, and by the vniuersall as-
sent was rewarded with all suche honours,
as than apperteyned to a good warreour:
Also with one hundred acres of arable lande,
the election of ten prisoners, ten horses ap-
parapled for the warres, one hundred of oxen
and as much siluer as he mought breake. But
of all this wold he take nothing, but one on-
ly prisoner, whyche was of his acquaintance,
and one counsellor, whyche alwayes after he
used in battayle.

Curus

Curcius Muretus, the veray rule and pa-
terne of Fortitude & moderate lyving, when
the people, called Samnites, whyche hadde
warres with the Romayns, founde hym syt-
tyng in his house by the fyre vpon a homelye
fourme, eatyng his meate in a dyshe of tre,
they bringyng to him a great summe of gold
by the consent of the people, and wondryng
at his povertee, with courtesie language, de-
sired hym to take that they hadde brought
hym, he therat smilpng, sayd thus vnto them:
ye ministers of a vaine and superfluous mes-
sage, shewe you to the Samnites, that cu-
rius had leaue to haue dominyon ouer them
that bee ryche, than he hym selfe to haue ry-
chesse. And as for this golde, whyche ye ac-
counte precious, take it agayne with you, and
renewe bye, that ye can neyther vauquiste me
in battayle, nor corrupte me with monye.

Tubero. **Q**uintus Tubero, surnamed Catellus,
wher

what tyme he was Conſulle, the people in Grece, called Detoli, ſent to him by their ambaſſadours, a greate quantites of ſiluer veſſel, curyouſely wroughte, and grauen. But whan they came to hym, they founde on his table-veſſel onely of erth. And whan he ſawe them, he exhorted them, that they ſhoulde not ſuppoſe, that his contentacion in pouertee, ſhoulde be with their preſentes reſpected. And with that ſayng, comanded them to departe.

Co Epaminondas, the Theban, being in Epami his tyme, as well in vertue as prowelle, the nondas, moſte noble man of al Grece, Detaxerles, kynge of Perſia, to make hym his frende, ſente one of his ſeruauntes to Thebes, with a greate quantite of treaſure, which ſervant knowynge his maners, durſte not offre it vnto hym whan he came, but ſpeakynge to a yonge man, whiche as familiar with Epaminondas, gaue vnto hym a greate rewarde, to moue Epaminondas to receiue the kynges preſent. Who vnto hearynge the firſte wordes of the yonge man, commaunded the kynges ſervant to be brought to hym, vnto whome he had theſe wordes.

O frende, ſewe to the king, that he nedeth not to offre me money: for yf he haue any thyng to do with the Thebanes for a good purpoſe, he maye haue their aſſiſtence with out any rewarde: yf the purpoſe be nought, he can not with all the treaſure of the world hope to obtayne it.

GOVERNOUR.

¶ Whiche wordes were spoken with suche a graunter, that the sayde seruante, being a ferd, desired Examiondes, that he mought be saufely conueyed out of the cite: whiche he graunted with good wyl, least yf the money were taken awaye, he moughte of the releyunge thereof haue bene suspected. More ouer, he caused the Chebane, whiche was his frende and companion, to restore to the messenger the money that he had receiued.

phocion.

¶ Remblable abstinence was there in Phocion, a noble counsailloure of Athens, vnto whome the ambassadour of the greates kyngs Alexandre, broughte frome their mayster a hundred talentes of golde, whiche were of singlythe money. xii. thousande pounce. But befoze that he herde them speake any thyng, he demaunded of them, why to hym onely the kyng sent so bounteous a rewarde? And they answered, for as muche as kyng Alexandre iudged him onely to be a good man and a iust. Then suffre ye me (sayde Phocion) to be and to seme the same mā, that your kyng dothe iudge me, and carpe your golde agayne to hym.

¶ To the same Phocion, the ambassadoure of Antipater (who succeeded the greates kyngs Alexander in Macedonia) offered to geue a greatesumme of money: whiche Phocion despyng, sayde in this wyse: Sene Antipater is not greater than Alexander, nor his cause better, I do nothyng perceiue, why I should

Shulde take any thing of hym. And what the
Oratour woulde haue had Whorions some
to haue taken the money. Whorion answer
rid: If hys sonne wolde be lyke vnto hym, he
shulde haue no nede, neyther of that money,
noz none other. If he wolde be vnylike vnto
hym, and of dissolute maners, neyther Intre
paters gyfies, noz none others, were they
neuer so great, shulde be sufficient.

¶ By these examples it dothe appere, howe
good men dyd alwaye fle from rewardes, al
though they mought haue ben lesfullpe taken
whyche in theym was neyther foolyschenes,
noz yet rusticite, but of a prudent consider
ation. Forasmuche as bothe by wysedome
and experyence they knewe, that he whyche
taketh a rewarde befoze anye thinge done, is
no longer at lybertye, but of a free man is
made bonde, because he hath taken erneste
for his true endeouour. Also by the taking, he
is become an euill man, though he befoze he
were good. For yf he receyue it for an euil
purpose, he is than a wretche and detestable.
If the matter were good, thanne is he not
rightwylle in sellpng a good dede, whyche he
ought to do thankfullp, without rewarde.

¶ And I doubt not, who so euer is conten
ted with this presente estate, and supposeth
hyseltee to be in a meane, and all exesse to be
peryllous, wyl allowe these sentences, and
thinke them worthy to be had in remembrance,
speciallpe of them that be gouernours. For

Goverment.

That realme, or citee, where men in auctoris
eye haue their handes open for money, and
their howles for felentes, is euer in the
waie to be subuerted. Wherefore Caius Do-
sius, prince of Samnites, was wont to say,
I wolde god, that fortune had reserved me
vn to the tyme, and that I had be than borne
whan the Romaynes shuide begynne to take
gyftes, I shulde thanne not suffre them any
longer to rule.

**Paulus
Emilius**

Paulus Emilius, whan he had vauquish-
ed kynge Perles, and subdued all Macedo-
nyas, brought into the comune treasoure of
Rome an infinite treasure, that the substance
of that one punce discharged al the Romay-
nes to paye euer after anye tace or subside.
And yet for al that goodes Emilius brought
nothing into his owne house, but onely per-
petual renoume.

**Scipio of
African.**

Scipio whā he had gotten and destroyed
the greates citee of Carthage, was not there-
fore the rycher one halfe peny.

By this appereth, that honoz resteth not
in rychesse, all though some perchauce will
saye, that their reuenues be small, and that
they muste take suche rewardes as be lefull,
onely to mayntayne their honour: but lette
theym take hede to the sayng of Cully, No-
thing is moze to be abhorred, than Auarice,
specially in princes, and in theim whiche doe
gouerne publyke weale.

etc. offi. ii.

The

CThe examples of continence, geuen
by noble men. cap.xviii.

NOwe wyll I speake of Continence,
whych is specially in refrainingge oz
forbearinge the acte of carnall plea-
sure, whereunto a man is feruentlye
moued, oz is at lyerice to haue it. Whych
vndoubtedly is a thing not only difficult, but
also wonderful in a man noble oz of greate
auctoritee, but in such one as it hapeneth to
be, nedes must be reputed muche vertue and
wysedom, to be supposed, that his minde is
inuincible, considering that nothings so war-
pely assyleth a mans minde, as dothe carnal
affectiō, called (by the folowers therof) loue.
Wherfore Plato saith, that the soule of mā
whych by loue is possessed, dieth in his owne
body, and lyueth in an other.

CThe great kyng Alexander, after his first alexander
victorie agaynst kyng Darius, hauinge al-
wayes in his host the wyfe of the same Da-
rius, whych incomparably excelled al other
women in beautye, woulde neuer, after he
hadde ones seene hir, haue hir come in hys
presence. All bee it that he caused hir estate
styl to bee mainteyned, and with as muche
honour as euer it was; and to theym, whi-
che wondyrnge at the lades beautye, mer-
uayled, why Alexander dydde not desyre to
haue with hir companye, he answered, say-
yng: It shuld be to him a rejoyce, to be anye
wyfe

Gouernour.

wylfe subdued by the wylfe of hym, whom he had vauquished.

Antioch. ¶ Antiochus, the noble kyng of Asia, in the citee of Ephesus, behelde a virgyn (beinge a Myrthen in the temple of Diana) of excellent beautye, and perceiuyng him selfe to be rauished in the loue of the mayden, hastilye and immediatly departed out of the citee, lest loue shuld constraigne him to violate the virgyn: wylfe consideringe that it was beste, to abstaine frome doinge battayle with that enemye, whiche vnethoughte he vauquished, but by flyght onely.

pompet. ¶ The valyaunt Pompei. whan he hadde vauquished the kyng Mithridates, and had taken diuers of his concubines, whiche in beautye excelled, woulde haue no carnall know'adge with anye of theym: but whan he knewe, that they were of noble lignage, sente theym vnderyled to their parentes and kynnes folke.

Scipto.

¶ Semblably dyd Scipto, whan he wanne Carthage. For amonge dyuers womenne, whiche were there taken: one moste faireste of other, was brought vnto him, to do with his lvs pleasure. But after that she had dyscouered to hym, that she was affianced to a gentyl man, called Indibilis, he caused hym to be sent for, and whan he behelde the lamen: arpon and signes of loue betwene them, he not onelye deliuered hir to Indibilis, with his ransome, whiche his frendes had

had payde for his redemption: but also added thereto an honorable portion of his own treasure. By the which continence and by heralitie, he wanne the hertes of Indibilis and al his bloude, wherby he the sooner observed and wanne the countrey.

Of this vertue be exampl'es innumerable as wel of gentils as of christen men: But these for this tyme, shall suffice, savinge for the straungenes of it, I wyl reherse a notable hystorie, which is remembred by the most excellent doctour saint Hierome.

Malerian beinge emperour of Rome, and persecutinge the church, I Egypt was a christen man presented vnto him, whome he beholdynge to be yong and lusty, thinkinge therefore to remove hym frome the faith, either by venereal motions, than by sharpnes of tormentes, caused hym to be layde in a bedde within a faire gardein, havinge aboute hym al floures of swete odour and most desirable souours and perfumes. And then caused a faire tendre younge woman to be layde by hym al naked, who cessed not sweete lye and lovinge lye to embrace and kysse haw, Mewynge to hym al pleasaunte deuises, to the intent to prouoke hym to fornication. There lacked lytel, that the younge man was not vainquished, and that the fleshe yelded not to the service of Venus. That persecutinge the younge man, whiche was armed with grace, and seing none other refuge, with his

A wonder
ful conser
uence in a
christen
martyr.

sethe

seeth dyd gnawe of his owne tounge, wheer
with he suffered suche incredible payne, that
therewith the brennyng of volu:tuoua appe-
tite was vitterly extincte.

In this notable acte, I wote not which
is to be comended, eyther his inuincible cou-
rage, in resistyng so muche agaynste nature,
or his wisdom, in lubbudyng the laste payne
with the more, and bytynge of that, whereby
he mought be cōstreigned to blasphem god,
or renounce hys religion. Sure I am, that
he therfore receiued immortall lyfe, and per-
petual gloire.

And this I suppose suffiseth, to perswade
me of good nature, to embrace Continence,
I meane not to lyue ever chaste: but to hos-
nour matrimony, and to haue good awayte,
that they leste not the sparkes of concupys-
cence growe in greate flames, wherewith the
wittes shall bee dyed vp, and all noble ver-
tues deuoured.

Of constauce or stabilitye. cap. xij.

In buildyng of a fortreffe, or other
honourable mansion, it ought to bee
well consydered, that the cemente or
moyter, wherewith the stones be layde,
be firme & wel vyndyng. For if it be broke, &
wylle mouldre awaye with euery showe of
rayne, the buildyng maye not continue, but
the stones, not surelpe couched and moyterd,
fal

fall alwaie one after an other, and finally the
holle house : is defaced and falleth in ruine.
Semblably, that man, whiche in childhode
is brought vp in sundry vertues, if eyther by
nature, or els by custome, he be not induced,
to be alwaie constāt : stable, so that he meue
not for anye affectiō grieffe or displeasure, all
his vertues wyl mostely decaye, and i the esti
mation of mē be but as a shadowe and sone
forgoten. For though he haue all the gyftes
of nature and fortune, and also is adorne
with doctrine and vertue, whiche he in hys
childhode hath acquired with much trauaile,
watche, and studie, and adde not to con
staunce, whan he cometh to the tyme of expe
rience, whiche experience is as it were the
worke of the crannes of man, beynge meued
with any priuate affection, or feare of aduer
sitye, or exteriour domage, wyl omitt anye
parte of his learning or vertue, the estimatiō
of hys person immediatly ceaseth amonge
perfecte workemen, that is to saye, wyle men,
and finally beynge wauerig or vnstable, what
thing in him may be commendede:

¶ And in one thyngge me seemeth that Con
staunce hath equal prayse with iustice: that is
to saye, that he that is him selfe iust, loveth
that person, that delecth iustlye with him: and
contrarywyle, hateth that person that dea
lecth iustlye, or dothe hym wrong. In likewise
he whiche is inconstaunte, excolleth hym,
whome he findeth constancie, and desireth to
haue

constance
equals
iustice.

Gouernour

hate him his frende : on the other parte , he is angry wth hym, whom he proueth inconstant and waueringe , and accompteth him a beast, and vnworthye the companye of men: and awapertly dylgentlye to truste him with nothyng.

¶ We note in chyldren inconstancye , and ykewise in women, the one for sklendernes of wytte , the other as a naturall spekenes therfore men vse in rebuking a man of inconstance, to call hym a chylde of a woman's ly person. Albeit some women nowe a dayes be founden moze cōstant than men, and specialy in loue towarde thei husbandes, or els mought there happen to be some wryonge inheritours.

¶ Constance is as propre vnto a man as is reason: And is of such estimacion , that accordyng as it was spoken of a wyle man: It were better to haue a constante ennemye than an inconstante frende . Wherof I my selfe had sufficient experience.

¶ But nowe to declare some experyence of constauce, whereby the reders maye be the moze thereto prouoked, I wyll reherse some examples therof one of olde hystories, as I shall happen to remembze them.

¶ After that Sylla had vanquished Marius and destroyed the parte of hys aduersaries, he with a great numbre of persons, all armed entronned the senate entendinge to compell theym by vyolence to condemne
Marius

Dari? for a traitour. Whiche request none durst gaine save: Sceruiola only except, who being therof demanded, wolde geue no sentence. But whan Sylla dyd cast therfore on hym a reuell countenance, he with a constant visage, and noble courage, sayd to hym: Sylla, although thou facest & thyneest me with thy multitude of souldyours, with whome thou haste thus besieged this coute, yea and although thou dost menace me with death neuer so muche, yet shalt thou neuer brynge to passe, that for shedynge a lyttel olde bloude, I shal iudge Darius a traitour, by whome this citee and al Italy haue ben preserued.

The constance, that greute kynge Alexanders der had, in trustynge his frende agaynste fals repute, saued his lyfe: whercof all men despayred, for after that noble battayle, where in he had vainquished Darius, and taken his treasure, as he passed through Cilicia, being soze chaufed with feruente heate, and the length of hys iourney, he came by the ryuer, called Cydnus, & beholdynge it clere and pleasaunte, and thynkyng to allwage therein the heates that he suffered, wente therein to bathe, and dranke therof: But immediatly, by the excedynge colde, whiche was in that water, hys sinewes shrank, and hys ioyntes became vnweildy, and as they were dead, and all hys hoste beinge discounforted he was conueyed to a citee thereby, called Carsum. Where vpon the physicians assembled to de-

wise the beste remedye. All were determyned
to geue hym one medecine, and that it shulde
be ministred by one Philyp, chiefe physician
with Alexander. In the meane tyme Parme-
nio, one of the greatest capptaynes aboute
Alexander, aduertised hym by hys letters, that
he shoulde beware of the treason of the sayde
Philyppe, sayng: he was corrupted with a
great summe of money by Darius. Wher-
with he beyng nothyng abayed, helde in his
handes the letter, and receiuyng the medicin,
that Philyppe gaue hym, at one tyme deli-
uered the letter open to Philyp, and thanks
also the medicine, declaringe thereby the con-
stance that was in hys frendshipp. Whych
truste, not onely caused nature the better to
worke with the medicine, but also bound so
the herte of the Physician towards hym, that
he euer after studeed moze dylygently for the
helpe and preseruation of the noble prince,
that dyd so muche truste hym.

Cato.

The Constance of Cato Uticensis was
alwaye immouable, in so muche that at sun-
drie tymes, when he in the Senate egrely de-
fended the publyk weale, with vehemēt and
longe oracions, agaynst the attemptes of
ambitious persons, he was by theym rebu-
shed, and committed to prison: But he there-
fore not celsynge, but goyng towarde prison,
detected to the people as he wente, the vnle-
ful purposes & enterpryses of them, by whom
he was pynched, with the peopl that was
immi-

imminente to the publyke weale, whyphe he dyd with suche courage and eloquence, that as well the Senate as the people dytwe so about hym, that his aduersaryes were fayne for feare to discharge hym.

¶ Who can sufficiently commend this noble man Cato, when he reedeth in the workes of Plutarke of hys excellence courage and vertue? Howe muche worthier had he ben, to haue had Homere the trump of hys fame immortal, than Achilles: who for a lytell wenthe contended with Agamemnon on Ipe: where Cato for the conseruation of the weale publyke contended, and also respyed agaynst Julius Cesar and the greate Pompey, and not only agaynst their menaces, but also agaynst their desires, and offres of a lypaunce. Wherof I wold gladly haue made a remembrance in this worke, if the volume therby, shoulde not to muche haue increased and becomen vnhandsome.

¶ Undoubtedly constansee is an honourable vertue, as inconstance is reprochfull and odious. Wherefore that man, whyphe is mutable for euery occasion, must nedes often repent hym, and in muche repentance is not onely muche folow, but also greate detrimēt: whyphe euery wyle man wyl eschewe, if he can. Wherfore to gouernours nothinge is moze pproppe, than to be in their liuinge stable and constant.

The true signification of Temperance,
a mortal vertue. cap.xx.

This blessed cōpany of vertues, in this
wyle assembled, foloweth **T**ēperāce,
as a sad and discret matrone and re-
uerent gouernesse, awaytinge diligent-
ly, that in anye wyle voluptee or cōcupiscence
haue no pzeheminence in the soule of man.

arist, ethi. **A**ristotelle desyneth this vertue, to bee a
mediocritiee in the pleasures of the body, spe-
cially in tast and touchyng. **T**herfore he that
is temperate, fleeth pleasures voluptuous,
and with the absence of them is not dyscon-
tented, and frome the pzeence of theym, he
wyllyngly absteyneth. But in mine opinion
Plotinus, the wonderfull phylosopher, ma-
keth an excellent desynicion of temperaunce,
sayng: that the pzeopzete or office thereof is
to coueite nothyng, whyche maye be repen-
ted, also not to excede the boundes of medio-
critee, and to kepe desire vnder the yoke of
reason.

temperat **icōtinēce.** **H**e that pzactiseth this vertue, is called
a temperate man, and he that dorthe contrary
thereto, is named intēperate: betwene whome
and a person incontinent, **A**ristotle maketh
this diuersitee, that he is in temperate, whyche
by his owne election is ladde, supposinge the
pleasure that is pzeente, or (as **I** moughte
saye) in vze, shulde alwaye be folowed. But
the person incontinent supposeth not so, and
yet he

yet he notwithstanding doth folowe it. The same auctour also maketh a dyuersitee, betwene hym that is temperate, and hym that is continente, sayng: The continent man is suche one, that nothing wyl dooe for bodelye pleasure, whych shall stande agaynste reason. The same is he, whych is temperat, laynge that the other hath corrupte desyes, whych this man lacketh.

Also the temperate man delyteth in nothing, contrary to reason. But he that is continente deliteth: yet wyl he not be lad agaynste reason. Finally to declare it in fewe wordes, we maye wel cal hym a Temperate manne that desireth the thinge whych he ought to desire, and as he ought to desire, & whan he ought to desire. Notwithstandinge there be dyuers other vertues, whych do seme to bee as it were companions with temperance. Of whō (for the exchuing of tediousnes) I wyl speake now only of two, moderatiō, and sobrienes, whych no man (I suppose) doubteth to be of suche efficacye, that without them no man maye attayne vnto wysedome: and by them wysedome is soonest espyed.

Of Moderation a spice of temperance. cap. xxi.

Moderation in the limittes and boundes, whych honestye hath appointed in speakynge and doyng: lyke as in
a.iii. rem

Governour.

rennyng, passing the goale, is accounted but easenesse: so rennyng halfe waye is reposed for slownesse. In likewyse, wordes and actes be the paces, wherein the witte of man maketh his course, and moderacion is in orde of the goale, whiche if he passe over, he is noted eyther of presumption, or of toole hardynesse: yf he come shorte of the purpose, he is contempned, as dull and vnapt to affaires of great importance. This vertue shall best be perceiued by rehersyng of examples shewed by noble men, whiche is in effecte but dayly experience.

Fabius Maximus, beinge fye times Consul perceiuyng his father, his graundfather, and greategraundfather, and dyuers other his auncetours, to haue had oftentimes that moste honourable dignitie, whan hys sonne by the vniuersall consent of the people should be also made consul, he earnestly intreated the people, to spare hys son, and to geue to the hous of Fabius, as it were a vacation tyme from that honoz: Not for any mistruste that he hadde in his sonnes vertue and honestye, but that his moderation was suche, that he wolde not that excellent dignitee shoulde alway continue in one familie.

Scipio Africanus the elder, whan the senate and people had purposed, that accordyng to his merites he shoulde haue certayne statues or images set in all courtes and places of assembly. Also they wolde haue set his image

image in triumphant apparayle within the capptolle, and haue graunted to him to haue ben Consul and Dictatour duringe his lyfe, notwithstandinge he wolde not suffre, that anye of theym shulde be decreed, eyther by the acte of the senate, or by the peoples suffrage, wherin he shewed hym selfe, to be as valiant in refusing of honours, as he was in hys actes, wherin he had them wel deserued.

There is also moderation in tolleracion of fortune of euerye sorte, whyche of Cully is called equabilitie; whyche is, whan there seemeth to be alwaye one visage and countenance, neyther changed nor for prosperities nor for aduersities.

tolleraci
on of for
tune good
and bad.

Metellus, called Numidicus, in a commune sedicion being banished frome Rome, and abydinge in Asia, as he hapned to lyte with noble men of that countrey, in beholdinge a greate plague, there were letters deliuered hym, wherin he was ascertayned, that by the hole consent of the senate and people, hys retourne into his countrey was graunted. Notwithstandinge, that he was of that eydynges excedyng ioyfull, yet he remeued not, vntel the playes were ended, nor anye man sittynge by him, mought perceiue in hys countenance any token of gladnes.

Whan the great kinge Antiochus, whyche long tyme had in his dominion all Asia, whiche is accounted to be the thirde parte of the world, was at the last vainquished by Lucius

a. iiii.

Scipio

Gouernour.

Scipio, and had lost the moze part of his empire, and was assigned but to a smal portio, v^sed his fortune so moderately, that he gaue great thanks to the Romaynes, that beynge delpuered of so great burdon and charge, he moze easily mought gouerne a litle dominio.

Alexander beynge electe and made emperour of Rome at xvi. yerres of his age, so excelled all other in vertue, that the senate and people wolde haue hym called the great Alexander, and father of the countrey, whyche of al names was highest, he with a wonderfull graunter refused it, saynge: It behoued, that those names were obteyned by merytes and ripenesse of yerres.

The same prince also wold not suffre his emperesse to vse in hir apparayle anye rycher stones than other ladies and if any were gotten hir, he eyther caused them to be solde, or elles gaue theym vnto Temples, affirmynge, that the examples of pompe and inordynate expenses, shoulde not procede of the Emperours wyfe.

And whan for the honour, that he dydde to the senate and lawes, hys wyfe and hys mother rebuked hym, saynge: he shoulde byynge the emperpalle maiestee into to lowe estate, he answered: It shoulde be the surer,

Moderas and continue the longer.

There is also a Moderacion to be v^sed agaynste wyath or appetite of vengeaunce.

Hadriane the emperoure, whyche he was but a

but a priuate person, bare towarde a capytayne greuous dyspleasure, who afterwarde hearynge, that he was made emperour, was in great feare, leaste Hadriane wolde be aduenged. But whan he came to the Emperours ptesence, he nothyng dydde or sayde to hym but onely these wordes: Thou hast wel escaped. By whiche wordes he wel declared hys moderacion, and also that who so euer putteth on the habite of a comunc person or gouernour, it shal not beseme hym to reuenge priuate dyspleasures.

Architas, whan he had ben a longe space out of hys countrey, and at hys retorne found hys possessions and goodes destroyed and wasted, sayde to his baptyfe: I wolde surelye punyssh the, if I shoulde not be angry.

Muche lyke dydde Plato. For whan hys seruaunt hadde offended him greuously, he despyed Speusippus hys frende to punyssh hym, leaste (sayd he) yf I beate him, I shulde hadde to be angrye. Wherin Plato deserued more prayse than Architas, in as muche as he obserued patience, and yet dyd not suffre the offence of hys seruaunte to be unpunysshed. For mooste often tymes the omitting of correction redoubleth a trespase.

Semblable moderacion and wysedome **Aulus Gellius** remembreth to bee in **Plutarch** **Gell** **arche** the philosopher, whiche was master to **Crasane** the emperoure. It hapned that the bondeman of **Plutarche** had committed
a v. some

some greuous offence: wherfoze his maister
wylled, that he shulde be sharpe punished:
and commaundyng him to be striped naked,
caused an other of his seruantes in hys pres
ence to beate him. But the claue, who as it
semed was learned, while he was in beatings
cried out on Plutarche, and in maner of re
proche sayde vnto hym: Howe agreeth this
with thy doctrine, that preacheest so muche of
patience, & in al thy lessons reprocurest wyath:
and now contrarie to thyne owne teachinge,
thou art al inflamed with wyathe, and clene
from the patience, whiche thou so much pray
sest: Vnto whom Plutarche, withoute anye
chaunge of countenance, answered in this
fourme: Thou embzaydest me causeles with
wyath and impatience, I praye the, what per
ceiuest thou in me, that I am angry oz out of
patience? I suppose (excepte I be muche de
ceyued) thou seest me not stare with myne
eyen, oz my mouth imboled, oz the coloure of
my face changed, oz anye other deformities in
my person oz gesture, oz that my wordes be
swyfte, oz my voyce louder than modestye re
quireth, oz that I am vnstable in my gesture
oz motion, whiche be the signes & euidente to
kens of wyath and impaciēce. Wherfoze said
he to the correctour, sens he can not proue,
that I am yet angry, in the meane tyme, while
he and I do dispute of this matter, and vntyl
he viterly do cesse of his presumption and
obstinacy, loke that thou styl beate him.

Verily

¶ Verily in mine opiniō Plutarche herein declared his excellent wisdom and grauite, as wel in his example of patience, as also in subduyng the stubborne courage of an obstinate seruant. Whych the historie shall be expediente for gouernours to haue in remembrance, that whan accordynge to the lawes, they do punyſhe offendours, they them selves be not chaufed or meued with wrathe. But (as Culli saith) be like to the lawes, whych be prouoked to punyſhe not by wraath or dyspleasure, but only by equitee. And immediatly the same auctour geueth an other noole precepte, concerning moderation in punyſhment, sayng: In correccinge, wraath is principallie to be forboden. For he that punyſheth while he is angry, ſhal neuer hope that meane, whiche is betwene to muche and to lytel.

De. i.

¶ Of sobriette, in diete. Cap. xxi.

¶ Verily I nothyng doubt, but that the moze part of the readers of this worke wyl take in good parte all that is before written, considering the benefite, and also the ornamēt, that those vertues, of whom I haue spoken, of good realō and congruence muste be to them, in whom they ſhal be plated and do continue. But I know wel that this chapter, whych now ensueth, ſhall breeth be thankefully receyued of a fewe readers, ne ſhalbe accounted worthy to be read of any

Gouernour.

any honozable person, considerynge that the
mattier therein conteyned is so repugnaunt
& aduerse to that pernycious custome, wher-
in of longe tyme men haue esteemed to be the
more parte of honour, in so muche as I be-
eye wel knowe, that some shal accoſt great
presumption in this myne attemptat, in wy-
tyng agaynst that, whiche hath ben so longe
blessed. But sens I haue taken vpon me to
write of a publyke weale, whych taketh hys
begynnyng at the example of theym that be
gouernours, I wol not let, for the dyspraysse
geuen by theim, whych be abused, with all
studye and diligence to dyscriue the auncient
temperance, and moderation in dyet, called
Sobrietee or in a more general terme **Fruga-**
frugality litye: The arte whereof is at this daie as in-
frequent or out of vse amonge all sortes of
men, as the termes be straunge vnto theim,
whych haue not ben wel instructed in latin.
¶ The noble emperour Augustus, who in
all the residue of his lyfe, was for hys modes-
ration and temperance excellently commens-
ded, suffered no lytle reproche, for as muche as
he in a secret souper or banquet, hauinge with
him sixe noble men his frendes, and sixe no-
ble women & namynge him selfe at that tyme
Apollo, and the other men and women the
names of other goddes and goddesse, fared
luptuously and delicatly, the citee of Rome
at that tyme beyng vered with scarcitee of
grayne: he therfore was rente with curses
and

and rebukes of the people: in so muche as he was openly called *Apello* the tourmentour, sayng also that he with hys goddes had deuoured their corne, with whych lybertee of speache beyng more perswaded than dyscontented, from that forth he vſed ſuche a frugalitie or moderation of diete, that he was contented to bee ſerued at one meale with three dyſhes, or ſixe at the moſt: whiche alſo were of a moderate price, and yet therein he vſed ſuche ſobernes, that epyther he hym ſelfe wold not ſpyte, vntyl they whiche dined with hym, had eaten a good ſpace: or els yf he ſaw whan they dyd, he wolde ariſe a great ſpace, er anye of them had leſte eatyng And for what purpoſe, ſuppoſe ye, dyd this emperoure in this wyſe, in whom was neuer ſpot of avarice, or vile courage? Certes for two cauſes. Firſte, knowyng the inconueniences, that alwaies do happen by ingurgitacions and exceſſyue feydynges: Alſo that lyke as to hym was committed the ſouereygne gouernance of al the worlde, ſo wolde he be to al men the general example of lyuynge.

¶ Nowe what domages do hapen among men by immoderate eatyng and drynkyng, we be every daye taught by experience: but to bringe them (as it were to mens eyn) I wil ſet them out evidently.

¶ Firſt, of ſacietee or fulneſſe be ingendred paynefull diſeaſes and ſickneſſes, as ſquintes, dyſtillacions, called reumes or poſes, he moroydes,

galen^{us} de
ſa. tuenda

lib. 5.

moxopbes, great bledynge, crampes, durt-
nesse of sight, the risike, and the sicke, with
many other that come not now to my reme-
braunce. Of to muche dypnyng procedethe
dypsie, wherwith the bodye, and often ty-
mes the visage, is swollen & defaced, beastlye
fury, wherwith the myndes be perplethed, and
of al other mooste odious, swyn dionkennes,
wherwith both the bodye and soule is defor-
med, and the figure of man is as it were by
inchauntment transfourmed into an vglye
and lothsome image. Wherefore the Aeces
demonies sometyme purposely caused the ru-
tical seruantes to be made very dionke, and
so to be brought in at their commune diners
to the entent that ponge men, beholdynge the
deformitee and hasty fury of them, that were
dionkhardes, shoulde lyue the more sobelye,
and shulde eschewe dionkennesse, as a thinge
foule and abhominable.

¶ Also Pittacus (one of the seven sages of
Grece) dyd constitute a lawe, that they, whis
the beyng dionke dydde offende, shoulde sus-
tayne double punishment: that men shoulde
the more diligently forbear to be dionke.
¶ It is right euidente to every wise man,
who at any tyme hath haunted affaires, wher-
unto was required cōtemplation or serious
study, that to a man, hauinge due concoction
and digestion, as is expediente, shall in the
mornynge fastynge, or with a lyttel refection,
not onely haue hys insucion quicker, hys
iudge

what pro-
fite is i so
brietye, &
what dis-
commodi-
tye hap-
neth by
contrarye

iudgement perfecter, hys tonge redyare, and also his reason fresher, his care more attensyue, hys remembraunce more sure, and generally all hys powers and wittes more effectual, and in better estate, than after he hath eaten abundantly. And I suppose for this cause, the ancient courtes of recorde in this realme, haue euer bene vsed to be herte only before none. And surely the consideration is wonderful excellent, and to be (as I mought saye) superstitiously obserued: the reasons why, be so apparant, that they neede not here to be rehearsed.

Pythagoras was neuer sene to eat anye fysh or flethe, but onely herbes and frutes.

Semblably dyd many other, who exactly followed his doctrine: Wherfore it was supposed, that they the rather excelled all other, in findinge out the secretes and hid knowlages of nature, whych to other were impenetrable.

Plato, or rather Socrates, indurynge, in hys seconde booke of the publyc weale, wylleth, that the people of hys cite, whiche he woulde constitute. Shoulde bee nourished with barley breade & cakes of wheate, and that the residue of their diete shoulde be salte, olyues, cheese and lyker, and more over wynter, that the fieldes do bringe forth, for their potage but he addeth to, as it were to make the dinner more delicate, figges, brances, myrryl berries, & birche mast, whych they shuld cost on the coles, and drynke to it water moderately.

derately. So (saith he) they luyng restfullpe
and in helth vnto extreme age, shall leaue the
same maner of luyng vnto their successors.
If I knowe wel some reders, for this diete
appoynted by Socrates, wyl scozne hym, ac-
countyng him for a foole, who not onelye by
the answer of Apollo, but also by the con-
sente of all excellent wryters, that folowed
hym, and the vniuersal renoume of all peo-
ple, was approued to be the wyldest man of
all Grecia.

Certes I haue knowen men of worthyp
in this realme, whyche, durynge their youth,
dranke for the moze parte water.

But here menne shall not note me, that I
wryle this, as who saith, that noble men in
this realme, shoulde lyue after Socrates dis-
ete, wherin hauinge respecte to this tyme and
region, they mought perchaunce fynde occas-
sion to reprove me. Surely like as the excesse
of fare is to be iustly reproved, so in a noble
man muche pinchinge and nygerdeshypp of
meate and drynke is to be discommended.

Algarde,
shyppe.

If I can not commend Helius Pertinax,
who beyng emperour of Rome, wolde haue
hys gesses serued with a plante of lettuce, de-
uided in two partes: and excepte some thinge
were sent hym, he wold appoint nine pounde
weight of fleshe vnto thre messes, and if anye
dythe hapned to be brought to hym, he caused
it to be set by vntyl the nexte daye.

I am ashamed to remembze, that he wold
sende

sende to his frendes, two morzels of meate, a piece of puddynge, or the carkasse of a capon. This was but miscepe and wretched niggardshyp in a man of suche honour.

In lyke maner, who wyl not haue in extreme detestacion, the insaciabie gluttonye of **Uitellius**, **Fabius**, **Gurges**, **Apicius**, and diuees other, to whyche carmozautes, neyther lād, water, ne aipe, mought be sufficient.

Neither the curiositee and wanton appetite of **Helioabalus**, emperoure of **Rome**, is of anye wyle man allowed, who beyng at **Rome**, or ferre from the sea, wolde eate on lye sea fysh: And whan he so iourned nyghe to the sea, he wold touche no fysh, but whiche was taken out of the ryuer of **Cyber**, or other places of equall or of moze distaunce.

Also he wolde haue dishes of meate made of camelles heeles, the combes of cockes newe lye cutte, the tongues of peockes and nyghtyngales, partriches egges, and other thynges harde for to come by: whereto be no enghlysh names founden (as I suppose) apte to the true signification.

Moreouer, althoughe I dyspraysed niggardshyp and vicious scarfitee, yet in thise numbje of dyshes, whyche I haue commended, I desyre not to haue therein meates for anye occasion to muche sumptuous. For in one or two dyshes maye be employed as muche money as in twenty, perchance as good or better in eatynge. Whereof there remays

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neth a noble example of Cleopatra, daughter to Ptholomee, late kynge of Egypte, who Cesar in his life held for his Concubine. The same ladye Antony, (with whome Octavian deuided the empire) loued also paramours, abandonynge his wyfe, whiche was sister to Octavian. And the warres betwene hym and Octavian, cessynge by a lyttell space, he (durynge that tyme) lyued in moste prodigall ryote, and thynkynge al thinge in the sea, the lande, and the ayre to bee made for satisfynge his gluttonye, deuoured all fleshe and fysh that mought be any where founden. Cleopatea, disdeigninge to be vanquished in anye exceasse by a Romaine, layed a wager with Antony, that she hir selfe wolde receyue into hir body at one supper, the value of fiftie thousande poundes, whiche to Antony was thought in a maner to be impossible. The wager was put into the handes of Marcus Plancus, a noble Romain. The nexte daye Cleopatra prepared for Antony a righte sumptuous supper, but therat Antony nothinge meruayled, knowynge the value thereof by hys accustomed fare, than the queene smyllynge, called for a goblette, wherinto she dyd powre a quantite of very tart vinegar, and takynge a perle, whiche hing at one of hir eares, quickly dyd let it falle into the vinegar, wherin beynge shortly dissolued (as is the nature of the perle) she immediatly dranke it. And although she had vauquished Antony,

Acroz

accoſdyng to his wager, the perle without
any doubt, being of the value of .l. M. li.
yet had the lykewyle drunken an other perle
of lyke value, whiche was hangynge at his
other eare, had not **Flaminius Plancus**, as
an indifferent Judge, forswyth geuen iuges
ment, that **Antony** was all redy vanquished.

I have reherſed this hystorie, wryten by
Macrobius, and also **Plini**, to the entente,
that the vanitee in sumptuous feasting shuld
be the better expressed.

Andronicus (a man of excellēt wysedome)
wrote vnto the great kynge **Alexander** an e-
piſtel, desirynge him to reſtreigne his intempe-
rance, wher:in he sayde: Noble prince, whan
thou wilt drynke wine, remembre than, that
thou drynkest the bloude of the earth. Signi-
fying therby (as I suppose) the might, and
power of wyne, and also warnynge **Alexan-**
der, of the thyſt or appetite of bloude, whi-
che wold ensue by his intemperate drynkyng.
For **Pliny** (that wryteth this hystorie) saith
immediatly: If **Alexander** had obeyed the
preceptes of **Andronicus**, he had neuer slayne
his frendes in his drunkennes. For vndou-
tly it maye be sayde with good right, that
there is nothing to the ſtrength of mans bodye
more profitable than wine, ne to voluptuous
appetites more pernicio⁹, yf meſure lacketh.
Alſo it is veraye trulſe and properly wry-
ten of **Propertius** the poete, in this ſentence
ſollowynge of lyke.

Macrobi
us ſa. li. ix.
Pli. li. ix.
xxix, ca
xxxv.

Pli li. 14.
natu. hiſt.
cap. v.

Gouernour.

By wine beautye fadeth, & age is defaced
Wyne maketh forgotten, that late was
embraced.

Moreouer, Salomon in his booke named
Ecclesiastes, calleth that countrey happye,
wherof the gouernours do eate in their tyme.
And what shal we suppose is their tyme, but
onely that, whyche nature and the vniuersall
consent of all people hath ordeyned? And of
what space is that tyme? But onely that,
whyche sufficeth to the abundante sustenta-
cion and not oppression of nature, ne letteth
anye parte of their necessarie affaires about
the publyke weale.

Of sapience, and the definition
therof. cap. xxiii.

Abeit that some men, whyche haue
hitherto readde this booke. wyl sup-
pose, that those vertues, wherof I
haue treated, be sufficient to make a
gouernour vertuous & excellent: yet nethelisse
for as muche as the effecte of myne enterpryse
in this worke, is to expresse, as farre forth
as god shall instructe my poore wytte, what
thynges doe belonge to the makinge of a per-
fecte publyke weale, whyche wel nyghe maye
no more be without an excellent gouernour,
than the vniuersall course of nature maye
stande or be permanent, without one chiefe
disposer and meuer, whyche is ouer all super-
em

eminent in power, vnderstandyng, and goodnes. Wherfoze because in gouernance be included Disposition and Order, whych can not bee without souereigne knowlage, proceeding of wisdom, in a moze elegāt worde called Sapience, Therfoze I wyl now declare, as muche as my lytel witte doth comprehend of that parte of Sapience, that of necessitee muste be in every gouernoure, of a iust or perfecte publyke weale:

The noble philosopher, and most excellent oratour Cicero, saith in this wyle, Sapience is the science of thinges diuine and humaine whych considereth the cause of every thinge, by reason wherof that, whiche is diuine, she followeth, that whych is humaine, she esteemeth far vnder the goodnes of fortune.

This definition agreeth well with the gyft of Sapience, that god gaue to Salomon, kyng of Israel, who asked one ly wisdom, to gouerne therewith hys realme. But god, whych is the fountayne of Sapience, graciously pondering the poyntes petition, whych proceeded of an apte inclination to vertue, with his owne moste bounteous liberality, whych he purposed to employe on hym, for the entiere loue that he had to hys father: he therfoze infused in hym plentie of al wysedome and counnyng, in thynges as well naturall as supernaturall: as it appereth by the workes of the same kyng Salomon, wherin be wel nygh as many wyl-

Bb.iii.

comes

cic. tal.
q.iii.

Gouernour.

doomes, as there be sentences. And in mine
opinyon, one thyng is specially to be noted.
A kynge David, father to Salomon, was
a man of a rare and meruaylous strength, in
so much, as he him selfe reporteth in the boke
of kynges, beyng a chyld, and carryng to
hys bzetherne theyr dyner, where they kepte
theyr cattell, he slewe firste a great beare, and
after a lyon, whych the fierce and hungry assau-
ted hym, althoughe he were vnarmed: and
whether he had anye weapon or no, it is vns-
certayne, sens he maketh therof no mention.
Also of what prowes he was in armes, and
how valyaunt and good a capytayne in bat-
taye, it maye sufficiently appere to them that
wyl reade hys noble actes & achievements in
the bookes before remembred. Wherein no
good catholike man wyl anye thyng doubt,
thoughe they be meruaylous, yet not with-
standyng al hys strength and puissance was
not of suche effecte, that in the longe tyme of
hys reygne, whych was by the space of .xl.
yeres, he coulde haue anye time vacant from
warres. But alwaye had eyther continuell
battaye with the Philistynes, or elles was
molested with his owne chylde, and such
as ought to haue bene his frendes. Contrarye
wyse, his sonne Salomon, of whome there
is no notable mention made, that he shewed
anye commendable feate, concernyng martiall
all prowesse, sayng the furniture of hys
garrisons with innumerable men of warre,
horses

horses and chariotes, whiche proueth not hym to be valiant and stronge, but only prudent: after in a lyttel bykerynge with the Philisties, in the begynnyng of hys reigne, continued in peace without anye notable battayle, or molestacion of anye persone, wherfore he is named in scripture, *Rex pacificus*, whiche is in englyshe, *The peacible kynge*. And onely by sapience so gouerneu hys realme me, that though it were but a lyttell realme in quantitee, yet it excelled incomparably all other in honour and richesse. In so muche as siluer was at that tyme in the citee of Hierusalem, as stones in the strete. Wherfore it is to be noted, that Sapience in the gouernance of a publyke weale, is of a more efficacie, than strength and puissance.

The auctorite of Sapience is well declared by Salomō in his prouerbes, saynge: By me kynges do reigne, and makers of lawes discernethynge that be iuste. By me princes do gouerne, and men hauinge power and auctorite, do determine Justice. I loue all theym that loue me, & who that watcheth to haue me, shall finde me. With me is both richesse and honour, statelie possessions and Justice. Better is the fruite that commeth of me, than golde and stones that be pricious.

The same kynge saithe in hys boke, called Ecclesiastice: A kynge without sapience shall lose hys people, and citees shall be inhabited by the witte of theym that be pruden-
 Wb. iiii. which

Whych the sentence was verified by the sonne and successour of the same kynge Salomon, called Roboam, to whō the sayde boke was wryten, who neglectinge the wyse and vertuous doctrine of hys father, contempned the sage counsaile of auncient men, and imbraced the light perswasions of yonge men and flatterers, whereby he losse his honoure, and brought hys realme in perpetuall diuision.

The empire of Rome (whose beginning, prosperitee, and desolacion seemeth to bee a myrrour and example to all other realmes and countreies) declareth to them that exact ly beholde it, of what force and value Sapience is to be esteemed, beyng begun with the perdes, fleinge the wyathe and dyspleasure of their maysters.

Plodorus
Siculus.
lib. 1.

Romulus, durynge the tyme of his reigne (whych the was . xxxvii. yeres) nothyng dyd enterpryse, without the auctoritee and consent of the fathers, whome he hym selfe chose to be Senatours. And finallye, as longe as the Senate continued in the citee of Rome, and reteyned their auctoritie, whych they receiued of Romulus, and was encreased by Tullus Hostilius, the thyrde kynge, they wonderfully prospered, and also augmented their empire ouer the moze part of the world. But soone after the emperoure Constantine had abandoned the citee, and translated the senate from thens to Constantinople, and that finallye the name and auctoritee of the Senate,

Senate, was by lytel and litel exhaust, by the negligence and folpe of ignozant emperours, not onely that moste noble citee, head and pyncesse of the worlde, and fountayne of all vertue and honour, fel into moste lamentable ruine, but also the maiestye of the empire decayed vterlye, so that vneth a lyttell: shadowe thereof nowe remaineth, whych the who so beholdeth and conferreth it with Rome, whā it flosished, arcozdyng as it is lefte in remembrance by noble wyters, he shall vneth kepe teares out of his eyen, beholdyng it now as a rotten shepecote in comparyson of that citee noble and triumphaunt. O pooze and miserable citee, what sundry tormentes, excisions, subuersions, depopulations, and other euill aduentures hath hapned vnto the sens thou were byrest of that noble courte of sappence: whose auctorite if it had alwaye continued, being also confirmed in the faith and true religion of chryste, god beyng with the pleased, thou couldest neuer haue ben thus desolate vnto the fynall consummacion and ende of the worlde.

I doubt not, but it is well knowen to euery Catholyke man, that hathe the lyberall vse of reason, that all maner of vnderstandyng and knowlage, whereof procedeth perfette operation, doe take their origynall of that high sappence, whych is the operatrice of all thynges. And therefore Salomon or Philo, or who so made the boke called Sapietia, made
 15b.v. hys

his prayer to god in this wyse.

Geeue to me good lord, Sapience, that sitteth by the throne. And in the later ende of the prayer he saith: Sende hie from the seate of thy holynes, that she maye bee with me, and laboure with me, and that I maye knowe what maye be accepted with the.

Muses **¶** Orpheus (one of the eldeste poetes of Grece) affirmeth in his hymnes, that the muses were begotten betwene Jupiter and Mercurius, whiche sayng wel vnderstande, and exactly tried shal appere manifestly to agree with the sayng of the wyse man, conteyned in the sayde prayer late reherced.

Eustathius the expositor of Homere, saith: Musa, is the knowlage of the soule and is a thyng diuine, as the soule is.

But finally, as by old authors a man may aggregate a definition, that whiche is called in greke and latin Musa, is that parte of the soule, that induceth and moueth a man to seeke for knowlage, in the whiche motion is a secreete and inexplicable delectatio. Albeit, because knowlage is in sundry wyse distributed, and the numbze of nine amonge olde authours was alwaye reherced, where they spake of a multitude, as it shal appere to them that rede Homere and Vergili: Therfore there were diuised to bee nyne Muses, whiche also for the resemblance of their disposition, wer fained by the poetes to be nine virgins, that first inuented all lyberall sciens

tes:but the other oppnyon approacheth more nere vnto the trowth,and agreeth better vnto my purpose.

C Moreover Jupiter was alwaye taken of the poetes and philosophers for the supreme god,whyche was the gyuer of lyfe, and treasour of all thynges,as appereth in all their workes,wherfore sometime they cal hym omnipotent,sometime the father of goddes & of me,so that vnder that name they knowlaged to be a very god,though they honored hi not as one only god,as they ought to haue done.

C But nowe Orpheus sayng,that the muses proceeed of Jupiter & memozye,maye be in this wise enterpzyted, That god almyghty infused Sapprnce into the Memozye of man:for to the acquirynge of science bzlongeth vnderstandynge and memozye, whyche as a tresorze hathe power to reteyne,and also to erogate and distribute, whan oportunittee hapneth.And for the excellencye of this thyng, some noted to be in mans soule a diuine substance: As Pythagoras, or some of hys scholers, wytyng his sentence, saythe in this wise speakyng to man.

C Now in thy self haue thou good confidence
 Sens mortal men be of the kynde diuine,
 In whose nature a reuerent excellence
 Appereth clere,whyche al thinge doth define.

C Which sentence of Pythagoras, is not
 relected

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relected neyther of Plato, whyche approached
next vnto the catholyke writers, nor of dy-
uines, whyche enterpjete holpe scripture, as
kyng the soule for the image and similitude
of god:

Lette fro Moreover, Plato affirmethe, that there
whence it is sette in the soule of man, comyng into the
procedeth worlde, certaine species, or as it were sedes of
Plato in thynges, and rules of artes or sciences.

Timaeus. Wherefore Socrates, in the boke of science,
Plato, in resemblance him selfe to a mydwylfe, saynge,
Theage. I teachynge younge men, he dyd putte into

themy no science, but rather brought forth
that, whyche al redye was in them, lyke as
the mydwylfe brought not in the chylde, but
beyng conceiued, dyd helpe to bringe it forth:
And lyke as in houndes is a power or dispo-
sicion to hunt, In hoxles and greghoundes
an aptitude to renne swiftly, so in the sou-
les of menne is ingenerate a leme of science,
whyche with the mixture of a terrestrialle
substance is obfusate, or made darke. But
where there is a perfect mayster prepared in
tyme, the bryghnes of the science apperethe
polyte and clere, lyke as the power and apti-
tude of the beastes before rehersed, appered
not to the vttermoste, except it be by Exercise
prouoked, and that slouth and dulnesse, be-
yng plucked from them by Industrie, be in-
duced vnto the contynuall acte: whyche as
Plato affirmeth, is proued also in the may-
ster and the dysciple.

Sem;

Semblably the foresayde Socrates, in Platos boke of captēce, saith to one Theages, Neuer man learned of me any thing, all though by my companie, he became wiser, I onely exhortynge, and the good spirits in spirynge.

Whyche wonderfull sentence, as me sees meth, maye wel accorde with our catholyke faith, and bee receiued into the commentaries of the most perfect diuines. For as wel that sentence, as all other before reherſed doe comprobate with holy Scripture, that god sapience is the fountayne of Sapience, lyke as he is from whence the loueigne beginnyng of all generation. It proce

Alſo it was wonderfullie wel expreſſed, deth. of whom Sapience is ingendred, by a poete named Afranius, whose verses were sette ouer the porch of the Temple, where the ſenate of Rome moſte commonly aſſembled. Whiche verses were in this maner.

Mus me genuit, mater peperit Memoria.
Sophiam me Graui vocat, vos Sapientiu.
Whiche in Englyſhe may bee in this wyſe tranſlated.

Memorie hight my mother, my father Experience.

Greekes calle me Sophy, you name me Sapience.

By vſe or experience, in theſe verſes expreſſed, the poete intended, as well thoſe actes, whych we our ſelfe dayly do prauctiſe, as alſo them, whych beyng done by other in tyme

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tyme passed, for the fruite or vtilyte, whiche
 therof succeeded, were allowed and also pro-
 ued to be necessarie. And the cause, why the
 poete conioyneth Experience and Memozve
 togther (as it were in a lefull matrimonye,
 Experience by gettyng, and Memozve alway
 producyng that incomparable fruite, called
 Sapience) is, for that Memozve in hir ope-
 ration properly succedeth experience for that,
 whiche is presently done, we perceyue, that
 whiche is to come, we coniecte or diuine:
 but that, whiche is passed, anely we haue in
 our memozve. For as Aristotle declareth won-
 derfully in an example, In the principalle
 sense of Man, there is conceived an image
 or figure of a thyng, whiche by the same
 sense is perceptied, as long as it is retayned
 entiere or holle, and as I mought saye, con-
 solydate, pure, manifeste, or playne, and
 without blemmysh in suche wyse, that in
 euery parte of it, the mynde is lyghted or o-
 cupped, and also by the same mynde, it maye
 be throughe perceyued and knowen, not
 as an image in it selfe, but as representynge
 an other thyng. This is properly Memoz-
 rie. But yf the hole image or figure bee not
 reteyned in the mynde, but parte thereof ones-
 ly remayneth, parte is put out, epyther by the
 length of tyme, or by some other myschappe
 or iniurye, so that it can neyther byrge the
 mynde esloones vnto it, nor it can be called
 agayne of the mynde, as often as by that
 porcion,

Aristoti-
 les de me-
 moria et
 remimis-
 cent: a.
 lib. 2.

Position whyche stille remaineth, and he the
aboden alwaye entiere and cleane, the relys
dewe that was thereto knitte and adioyned,
and late scemed for the tyme d.ade of blesse
from the minde, is reuyued and (as it were)
retourned home agayne it is then had for re-
demed or restored, and is properlye called re-
membraunce.

This is the exposition of the noble phys-
iosopher whiche I haue wyrtten pryncypallye
to the intentente to orname our language, with
vsing wordes in theyr propre sygnification
Whereof that commoditie maye ensue, all
wyse men wyll (I doubt not consyder.

What is true signification of
vnderstanding. cap. xxiii.

FOr as muche as in the beginninge of the
first boke of thys worke, I endeouored
my selfe to proue that by the ordre of
mannes creatiō prehemynence in degre
shoulde be amongst men, accordyng as they
do excelle in the pure influence of vnderstau-
dyng whiche can not be denyed to bee the
pryncypall parte of the soule, somme reader
prechaunce moued with disdeigne, wyll for
that one assercion, immediatellye reiecte thys
worke sayyng, that I am of a corrupce or fo-
lishe oppynyon, supposyng that I do entende
by the sayde wordes that no man shoulde go-
uerne or be in auctoritie, but onely he, whyche
sur

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Car mounteth all other in doctrine, whyche in his hasty malice he demeth, that I lonely doe meane, where I speake of vnderstandyng.

I suppose al men do knowe, that man is made of bodye and soule, and that the soule in prehemynence excelleth the body, as muche as the mayster oz owner excelleth the house, oz the artificer excelleth his instrumentes, oz the kyng his subiectes. And therefore Salust in the conspiracy of Catilpne saith: *De vltimo* speciallpe the rule of the soule, and seruice of the body: the one we participate with gods, the other with beastes. And Cullu saith: *De re* Mans soule, beyng decerpte oz taken of the porcion of diuinitee called Mens, may be compared with none other thig (yf a mā mought lefully speake it) but with god hym selfe.

Also the noble diuine Chrysostom⁹ saith: *Chrysosto.* The bodye was made for the soule, and *de repara* not the soule for the bodye. Now it is to be *tiōe lapsi* further knowen, that the soule is of three partes: the one, wherein is the power oz efficacie of growynge, whyche is also in herbes, and trees, as wel as in man, and that parte is called vegetatife. An other parte, wherein man dothe participate with all other thynges lyuynge. whiche is called sensitiue, by reason that therof the senses do procede, whyche be distributed into diuers instrumentall partes of the body, as sight into the epen, hearyng to the eares, smellyng to the nose, tastynge to the mouth, felynge to euery part of the bodye, wherein

wherein is bloude, withoute the whyche vns
doubtedly maye be no felyng. The thirde part
of the soule is named the parte intellectuall
or of vnderstandyng, whyche is of all the o-
ther moste noble, as whereby man is moste
lyke vnto god, & is preferred befoze all other
creatures. For where other beastes by their
senses do feele, what thing do profite them,
and what dothe annoy them: onely man vn-
derstandeth, whetof the sayde contrarpe dis-
posicions do come, and by what meanes they
do eyther helpe or annoy: also he perceiueth
the causes of the same thyng, and knoweth
howe to resyste, where and whan nede dothe
require and with reason and crafte howe to
getie remedy: and also with labour and in-
dustry, to provide that thing, whyche is hol-
some or profytable. This moste pure part of
the soule, and (as Aristotelle saithe) dyuine,
impassible, and incorruptible, is named in la-
tine, Intellectus, whereunto I can finde no
propere englyshe, but Vnderstandyng. For
intelligence, whyche cometh of Intelligens-
tia, is the perceiuyng of that, whyche is firste
conceiued by vnderstandyng, called Intel-
lectus. Also intelligence is now vsed for an ele-
gant worde, where there is mutuall treaties
or appointementes, eyther by letters or mes-
sage, specially concernyng warres, or lyke
other greate affaires betwene princes or no-
ble men. Wherefore I wyl vse this woorde
vnderstandyng, for Intellectus, vntill some

L.

othes

Arist. lib.
de anima

Gouernour.

other more propre englyshe woorde maye be
founden and broughte in custome . But to
perceiue more plainly, what thyng it is , that
I cal vnderstandyng, It is the principal part
of the soule, whych is occupied about the be-
gynnyng or originall causes of thynges that
maye fal into mans knowlage: and hys office
is, before that any thyng is attempted , to
thinke, consider , and p[re]pence, & after often
tosyng it vpp and downe in the mynde, to
exercise that power: the propriete whereof is
to espye, seke for , enserche and fynde oute:
whych vertue is referred to wyl, whych is
as it were the instrument of vnderstanding.

¶ Whoeuere, after the thinges be inuented,
conected, perceyued, and by longe tyme and
often considered, and that the mynde dyspo-
seth hir selfe to execution or actual operaciō:
than the vertue, named Prudence, first put-
teth hir selfe forwarde, and than appereth
hir industry and labour: for as muche as she
teacheth, warneth exhorteth , ordereth & p[ro]-
fiteth, lyke to a wyse capytayne , that setteth
hys host in arraye. And therfore it is to be re-
membred, that the office or due tyme of vnder-
standyng, p[re]cedeth the enterpryse of actes,
and is in the begynnyng of thynges . I call
that begynnyng, wherein before anye matter
taken in hande, the mynde and thoughte is
occupied, and that a man sercheth and cou-
seth, whether it be to be enterprysed , and by
what way, and i what time it is to be executed

¶ Who

Who by this lyttel introduction, knowynge what vnderstandynge dothe signifie, wyl not suppose, that he, whiche therein dothe excel, is not with honoure to be aduanced? Than it foloweth not by this argumente, that for as muche as he that excelleth other in vnderstandynge, shuld be preferred in honoure, thers foze no man shoulde be preferred to honoure, but onely they that excel other in learning. No man hauinge natural resson, though he neuer redde logyke, wyl iudge this to be a good argument, considerynge that vnderstandynge, called in latin *Intellectus*, and *Mens*, is by it selfe sufficient, & is not of any necessitee annexed to doctrine, but doctrine procedeth of vnderstanding. But yf doctrine be alway attēdyng vpon vnderstandynge, as the daughter vpon the mother, vndoubtedlye than vnderstanding must be the moze perfect, & of a moze efficacie, being increased by the inuēcions and experiences of manye other declared by doctrine, no one mā without inspiration hauing knowlage of al thinge. I cal Doctrine discipline intellectuall, or lernynge, whiche is eyther in wrytyng or by repoyte of thynges before knownen, whiche procedeth from one man to an other. That wherch I haue sayd, is in this wyse confirmed by Salomon, sayng: A mā that is wyse, by hearynge shal become wiser. And he that hath vnderstandynge, shal be a gouernour, Seneca saith: We instructe oure chyldzen in liberal sciences, not because those

L. C. H.

sciences

arist. eth
li. 5. poste
riorū i po
littic. li. 1.

proverbs

Governour.

sciences maye geue anye vertue, because they prepare the minde, and make it apt to receiue vertue. Whypche beyng considered, no man wyl deny, but that they be necessary to euery man, that coueiteth very nobiltype, whiche as I haue often tymes sayde, is in the haupnge and vble of vertue. And verily in whome doctrine hath ben founden, ioynd with vertue, there vertue hath seemed excellent, and as I mought say triumphant.

C Scipio, commen of the most noble house of the Romaynes, in hyghe learnynge and knowlage of the nature of thinges wonderful studious, haupnge alwaye with hym the most excellēt Philosophers and poetes that were in hys tyme, was an example and myrrour of martiall prowesse, continence, deuotion, lyberalitee, and of al other vertues.

C Cato, called Uticensis, named the chiefe pilar of the publyke weale of the Romaynes, was so muche inflamed in the desire of learninge, that (as Suetonius writeth) he could not tempre hym selfe in readinge greke bookes whyles the Senate was sptyng.

Howe muche it profited to the noble Augustus, whypche vntyl the deathe of hys vncle Julius Cesar, diligently applyed his studye in Athenes, it wel appered after that the Cityle warres were all fynysshed: whan he reforming the hole astate of the publyke weale, stablished the Senate, and takynge vnto him ten honozable personages, daylye in his own
person

person consulted with them of matters to be reported wise in a moneth to the Senate in such wise aidinge and helpinge forth that moſte noble court w^{ith} his incomparable study and diligence.

The emperour Titus Sonne to Maſpian for his learnynge and vertue, was named the delicate of the worlde.

Marcus Antonius, the emperoure, was in euery kinde of learninge ſo exceſſent that he was therfore openly named the philoſopher, not in reproche (as menne doo nowe a dayes in deſpite call them philoſophers and poetes, whom they perceiue ſtudious in ſundry good diſciplines) but to the augmentation of his honour. For being of hys owne, nature apely inclined to embrace vertue, he addynge to abundance of learninge, became thereby a wonderfull and perfecte pryncce, beinge neyther of ſtudy withdrawn frome affayres of the publyke weale, nor by any buſines viterly plucked from philoſophye, and other noble doctrines. By the which mutual coniunction and iuſte temperaunce of theſe two ſtudies, he attayned to ſuche a fourme in all his gouernaunce that he was named and taken for father of the ſenate, of the people and vniuerſally of al the hole empyre.

Moreouer, hys dedes and wordes were of all men hadde in ſo highe eſtimacion and reuerence that both the Senate and people ſpoke of him lawes and rules of theyr liuing.

Cr.ii. And

Gouernour.

And in his gouernāce and proppze lyuynge, as wel at home in his hous, as in hys ciuile busines, he was to him selfe the onlye lawe and example. And as he was aboue other highest in auctoritee, so by the vniuersal opinyon of all men he was iudged to be of al other men, than lyuynge, the beste and also the wisest.

Of Experience, whyche hath preceded
our tyme, with a defence of
Histories. cap. xrb.



Citus li:
viii in
procmio.
ii. i.

Experience, wherof cometh wise dome, is i two maner of wise: The one in actis comitted or done by other mē, wherof profite or domage succedynge we may (i knowig or beholdig it) be therby instructed to appzeih d^y thing, which to the publyke weale, or to our own personnes, maye be comodious: and to eche we that thing, whyche eyther in the begynnynge, or in the conclusiō appereth noysome & picious.

Histories The knowlage of this Experience is called wherfore Example, & is expessed by historie, whych of thei be so Culla is called the life of memoire. And so it commendable agreeth wel with the verses of Afrani^o, by me late declared. And therefore to suche persons, as doo contempne aunciente histories, reputyng, theim amonge leasynges and fantasies (these be their wordis of reproche) it maye be sayd, that they frustrate Experience: whyche

whych (as the sayde Culli saith) is the lyght
of vertue, whych they wolde be sene so much
to fauour, although they do seldome embrace
it. And that shal they perceiue manifestly,
yf they wyl a lytle whyle laye apart their acc-
ustomed obstinacie, & suffre to be distilled in
to their eares two oz thre dropes of the swete
oyle of remembraunce,

Let them reuoule in their myndes genes-
rallye, that there is no doctrine, be it eyther
diuine oz humayne, that is not eyther all ex-
pressed in history, oz of the lest mixt with his-
tory. But to thentent that there shalbe left
none ignorance, whereby they mought be des-
tayned in their erreurs, I wyl nowe declace
vnto them what it is, that is called an history
eye, and what it comprehendeth.

Firste it is to be noted, that it is a grecke
name, & cometh of a worde oz verbe in Greke **Historie**
Historio, whych doth signifye, to knowe, to what it is
se, to enserche, to enquire, to here, to lerne, oz
tell, oz expounde vnto oher. And than must
historye, whiche commeth therof, be wonder-
ful profitable, whiche leaueth nothinge hyd
frome mannes knowlage, that vnto hym
maye be eyther pleasaunt oz necessary. For it
not onely reporteth the gestes oz actes of prin-
ces oz captyaynes, their counsayles and at-
temptates, enterprises, affaires, maners in
lyping good and bad, descriptions of regions
and ciuees with their inhabitantes: but also
it byngeth to our knowlage, the forres of
c. lll. sundry

Gouernour.

Sundrye publyke weales, with their augmentations and decayes, and occasion therof.

Moreouer preceptes, exhortacions, counsailes, and good perswasions, comprehended in quicke sentences and eloquente oracions. Finally so large is the compasse of that, whiche is named hystorie, that it comprehendeth all thyng that is necessary to be put in memory.

In so muche as Aristotelle, where he declareth the partes of mannes bodye, with their description and offices, and also the sundrye formes & dispositions of all beastes, foules, and fishes, with their generaciō, nameth his booke an hystorie. Semblablye Theophraste his scholer, a noble philosopher, descriuynge all herbes and trees, wherof he mought haue the trewe knowlage, intitlith his booke.

The hystorie of plantes. And finallye Plinye the elder, calleth his moste excellent and wonderfull worke, the hystorie of nature; in the whiche booke he nothyng omittech, that in the bosome of Nature is contained, and maye be by mannes wyte comprehended, and is worthy to be had in remembrance. Whiche auctorities of these thre noble and excellenre learned men, approueth the signification of Hystorie, to agree wel with the exposition of the verbe Hystorio, wherof it commeth.

¶ Now lette vs se what booke of holy scripture, I meane the olde testamente and the newe, maye be sayde, to haue no parte of hystorie. The fise bookes of Moyses, the booke of

of Judges, the foure booke of kynges, Job, Hester, Iudith, Ruth, Chobias. And also the hystorie of Machabes (whiche from the other is separate) I suppose no man will deny, but that they be all hystorical: or (as I mought saye) entier hystories. Also Eldras, Reunias, Ezechuell, and Daniell, although they were prophetes: yet be their workes compacte in foure of narraciōs, whiche by orators be called entenciatiue, & onlpe pertyneth to hystories, wherin is expressed a thinge done, and persons named. All the other prophetes, though they speake of the tyme future or to come, whiche is out of the description of an hystorie, yet epyther in rebukynge the synnes and enormities passed, or bewaplynge the destruction of their countrey, or captiuitie of the people. and luche lyke calamities or miserable estate, also in meuyng or perswadyng the people, they doe recite some circumstance of a narration.

¶ But nowe be we comen to the newe testamente, and principallie the booke of the Euangelistes, vulgarelye called the gospels, whiche be one context of an hystorie: doe not they conteyne the temporall lyfe of oure saviour chryste, kyng of kynges, and lord of the worlde, vntyll his glayous ascension? And what thyng lacketh therein, that dothe pertaine to a perfect hystorie? There lacketh not in thynges, ordre and disposition, in the context of narration, verities, in the sentences

granitee, vtilitee in the counsailes, in the persuaſions doctrine, in expoliſions or declaracions facilitate. The booke of thactes of apostelles, what thinge is it elles but a playne historye? The epistles of sainte Paule, sainte Peter, sainte John, sainte James, and Iudas, the apostles, doo conteyne counsailes and aduertisements in the fourme of oracions, recitinge dyuers places as wel oute of the old testamēt, as out of the gospels, as it were an abbreuiate, called of the grekes and latines Epitoma. This is wel knowne to be true, of them that haue had anye leasure to rede holy scripture: who remembryng the selles by this my lytel inductiō, wyl leue to neglecte historye, or contemne it with so general a dysprayse as they haue ben accustomed.

¶ But yet some wyl impugne theym with a more particuler obiection, sayng: The histories of the Grekes and Romaynes be nothing but lyes, and feignyng of poetes: some such persons there be, betwene whome and good auctors hathe euer ben perpetual hostilities. First howe doe they knowe, that all the histories of Grekes and Romaynes be lyes, sens they fynde not, that anye scripture autentike, made about that tyme that those histories were writen, doo reprove or contempe them. But the moſte catholike and renouued doctours of Christes religion, in the corroboration of their argumentes and sentences doo allege the same histories, and vouche

vouches(as I mought saye)to their ayde the
 auozitee of the writers . And yet some of
 those Rabines(in goddes name) whyche in
 comparison of the sayde noble doctours, be
 as who saithe petites, and vnneth lettred:
 wyl presume, with their owne selve wyttes,
 to dysproue that, whiche both by ancientce of
 tyme, & content of blessed and noble doctours
 is allowed, and by their workes honoured.

¶ If they wyl coniecte histories to be lyes,
 because they sometyme make reporte of thin
 ges sene, and actes done, whyche doe seme to
 the reders incredyble: by the same reson may
 they not onely condemne ali holpe scripture,
 whyche conteyneth thinges more wonderful,
 than any historian writeth, but also exlude
 credulitee vttterly from the company of man:
 For how many thinges be dayly sene, whych
 beyng reported vnto hyus that neuer sawe
 theim, shulde seme impossible?

¶ And if they wyl allege, that al thinge con
 teyned in holpe scripture, is approbat by the
 hole consente of al the clargye of Christens
 dome, at diuers generall councyles assembled
 Certes the same councyles neuer disproued
 oz relected the histories of Grekes oz Ro
 maynes, but the most catholphe and excellent
 learned men of those congregacions, embraz
 ced their examptes, and sowynge them in their
 workes, made of the to the churche of Christe
 a necessarye ornamente. Admitte, that some
 histories be interlaced with leasinges: why
 shoulde

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shoulde we therefore neglecte theim? Leng the
affaires there reported nothyng conce-
neth vs we beinge thereof no parteners, ne
therby only maye receiue any damage. But
if by readinge the sage counsaile of Nestor
the subtil perswasions of Ulysses, the com-
pendious grauitie of Menelaus, the impe-
riall maiestie of Agamenon, the prowesse
of Achilles and valiant courage of Hector
we maye apprehende any thing, wherby oure
wittes may be ameded, and our personages
be moze apt to serue oure publike weale and
our prynte what forceth it vs, though he
mere wytte leasinges.

If I suppose no man thynketh that Esop
wrote gospels: yet who doubtyeth but that in
his fables, the foxe, the hare, and the wolfe
though they neuer spake, dooe teache manye
good wysedomes: whyche beyng wel cons-
yderd menne (yf they haue not auowed to
repugn: agaynste reason) shall confesse wpth
Quintilian, that fewe, and yneth one maye
be founde of auneynt wynters, whyche shall
not bypge to the reders some thyng com-
modious: And specyally they that do wynte ma-
ters historycall, the lesson wherof is as: it wer
the myrrour of mans life, expyessing actually
and (as it were at the open) the beautes of
vertue, and the deformatie and lothelynes of
vyce. Wherfore Lactancius saythe: Thou
must nedes peryshe, yf thou knowe not, what
is to thy lyfe profytable, that thou mayst seeke
for

for it: and what is dangerous, that thou mayest flee and eschue it. Whych the I dare assure firme may come sonest to passe by the redyng of histories, and retaynyng them in continual remembraunce.

The Experience or practyse necessarie in
the person of a gouernour of a pryncely wale cap. xxvi.

The other experience, whiche is in our propre persons, and is of some men called practyse, is no smal moment or efficacie in the acquirynge of Sapience: in so muche that it seemeth, that no operation of affaere maye be perfecte, nor no science or art complete, except experience be there vnto added, whereby knowlage is ratified, and (as I mought saye) consolidate.

It is written, that the greates kynge Alexander, on a tyme beyng (as it hapned) occupied, came to the shop of Apelles, the excellent paynter, and standyng by him, whyles he painted, raysoned with him of lines, adunbracions, proporcions, and other lyke thinges pertainyng to imagery, whych the paynter a litle whyles sufferynge, at the last sayde to the king, with countenance of smyllyng: See thou noble prince, how the bope, that gryneth my colours, dothe laughe the to scorn: whych wordes the kinge toke in good parte, and helde him therewith iustly corrected, considering

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sydering by his owne office in martiall affayres, that he than had in hande, howe greate a portio of knowlage sayleth, where lacketh experience. And therein gouernours shall not disdeigne to bee resembled vnto physicions, considering their offices in curynge and preseruing, be most lyke of any other.

That parte of physike, called Racional, whereby is declared the facultees or powers of the bodie, the causes, accidentes, and tokens of sickennes, can not alwayes be sure, without some experyence in the temperature or distemperature of the regions, in the disposition of the patient, in diete, concoction, quietnesse, exercise, and sleepe. And Galene, prince of physicions, exhorteth them, to knowe exactly the accustomed diete of their patientes, whythe can not happen withoute muche resort into their companies, seriously noting their vsage in dyete. Semblably the vniuersall state of a countrey or citee, maye be wel lykened to the body of man. Wherefore the gouernours, in the seeke of physicions, attendynge on their cure, ought to knowe the causes of the decaye of their pabylke weale, whyche is the health of their countrey or citee, and than with expedytion to procede to the mooste speedy and sure remedy. But certes the veraye cause of decaye, ne the trewe meane to cure it, maye neuer be sufficientely knowne of gouernours, excepte they them selues wyl personallye resorte and peruse all partes

partes of the countreys, vnder theyr gouernance, and inſerche diligently, as wel what be the customes & maners of people good and bad, as alſo the comodities and diſcommodities, how the one may be preſerued, the other ſuppreſſed, or at the leaſt wayes amended.

Alſo among them that haue miniſtracion or execution of Juſtice (whiche I maye lyken vnto the membres) to taſte and ſele, how euery of them do practiſe theyr offices, that is to ſaye, whether they do it feble or vnproſitably, and whether it happen by neglygence, diſcourage, corruption, or affection.

But nowe maye the reader with good reaſon demaunde of me, by what maner experience, the gouernours may come to the true knowlage hereof. That ſhal I now declare.

Firſt the gouernours them ſelfes, adorned with vertue, beynge in ſuche wyſe an example of lyuing to their Inferiours, and makinge the people iudges of them and theyr domeſtical ſeruantes and adherentes, ſhulde ſundry tymes durynge theyr gouernance, eyther purpoſely, or by waye of ſolace, repayre into diuers partes of theyr iuriſdiction or prouince, and makinge theyr abode, ſhal partly them ſelfes attentively here, what is commonly or priuately ſpoken, concerning the ſtate of the countrey or perſons, particuler ſhall cauſe theyr ſeruantes or frendes, of whole honeſtye and trouthe they haue good aſſurance, to reſorte, in diſpoſyng them ſelfes in diuers townes

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townes and villages, and as they happen to be in companie with the inhabitauntes, by tyme and with some maner of circumstance, enquire, what men of honoure dwell nigh vnto the, what is the fourme of their liuinge, of what estimation they be in iustice, lyberallitee, diligence in executyng the lawes, and other semblable vertues. Contrariwise, whether they bee oppressours, couetous menne, mainteyners of offendours, remisse or negligent, if they be officers. And what the exampners do here the greater numbere of people reporte, that they intierly and truely denounce it to the sayde gouernour by the whiche intimacio, and there owne prudent endeuoure, they shall haue infallible knowlage, who amonge the inhabitauntes bee men towarde the publyke weale best disposed. Then shall they call for, and moste courteyselye enterteine, and (as it were) louinglye embrace, with thanks for their good wyl and endeuoure towarde the publyke weale, commendying them openlye for theyr vertue and diligence: offringe to them their assistance in their semblable doynges. also theyr furthrance toward the due recognice of theyr traualles.

¶ On the contrary parte, whan they se anye of theym, who amonge their inferiours, obserue not Justice, and lyke wise officers, whyche be remisse, or fauourable to common offendours and breakers of lawes, and negligent in the execution of theyr auctorities, to them

them that they geue condigne reprehensions, manifesting their defaults, in omitting their duties, and in geuinge eny example to their cōpaniōs, also boldnes to trasgresse and to contene the lawes. Declaring also, that they misnistrig such occasiō, deserue not only a sharp rebuke, but also right greuous punishment.

And yf he, that thus admonisheth, be a souereigne gouernoz, oz prince, & moxely here vpon doth ratifie hys wordes, by expelling some of the, whych I now reherled, from their offices, oz otherwyle sharply correcting them, and contrarywyle aduauuncyng higher some good man, and whome he hath proued to be dilygēt in the execution of Justice, vndoutedlye he shal inflame the appetite and zeale of good mynisters, & also iuscitate oz reise the courage of al mē, inclined to vertue, so, that there shall neuer lacke mē apt and propie to be set in auctoritee, Where the merites of mē be hid and vknownen to the souereigne gouernour, and the negligent ministers oz inferior gouernours haue not only equal thāke oz rewarde, but perchāce muche more than they, which be diligent, oz wold be, if they mought haue assistance, there vndoutedlye is greuous discorage, & perpl of conscience: forasmuche as they omitt oftentimes their duties and offices, reputing it great folp and madnes, to acquire by the executing of Justice, not onely an opinion of tyrāny among the people, & consequently hatred, but also malignitee amonge his equals & subgiors, with a note of ambiciō

This remoued and consydeted by a re-
sumspect governour, lozbe god, how shortly,
and with how lyttel dyfficulce, shall he dis-
pose the publyke weale that is greued, to re-
ceiue medicine, whereby it shulde be sone hea-
led and reduced to his perfection.

Of detraction, and the image
therof made by the peynter
Appelles, cap:xxvii.

There is muche conuersant amōg men
in auarozitee a vice very vglye & mon-
struous, who vnder the pleasante ha-
bile of frēdshipp & good counsaile, with
a breath pestilencialt infecteth the wytes of
them that nothing mistrusteth. This monster
is called in englyshe Detraction, in latin ca-
lūnia, whose propyete I wyl now declare.
N If a mā, be determined to equitee, hauig
the eyen and cares of his mynde set onely on
the trouthe, and the publyke weale of his coun-
trei, wyl haue no regard to any request or de-
sire, but proceedeth directly in the administra-
cion of iustice, epyther he, whiche by iustice is
offended, or some his fauours, abettours,
or adherentes, if he hym selfe, or anye of them
be in seruice or familiaritee with him that is
in auarozitee, as sone as by anye occasiō, men-
cion hapneth to be made of him, who hath ex-
ecuted iustice exactlye, forthwith they imagyn
some vice or defaut, be it neuer so lyttel, where-
by they maye tynge his credence, and crafte
lye

lye omittinge to speake any thinge of his ris
gout in Justice, wll note and touche some
thing of his maners, wherin shal epyther seme
to be lighynes, or lacke of grauitie, or to mus
the sowernes or lacke of Ciuilitie: or that he
is not beneuolēt to him in auctozitee, or that
he is not sufficient to receiue any dignitee, or
to dispatche matters of weightye importāce
or that he is superfluous in wordes, or els to
scarce. Also yf he liue temperately, and delys
teth muche in studye, they embzayed hym with
nygat shyp, or in derision, cal hym a clerke or
a poete, vnmete for any other purpose: And
this do they couertly and with a moze grauitie,
than any other thing that they enterpryse.

This euyl report, called Detraction, was
wonderfully wel expresse in figures, by the **The times**
most noble painter Apelles. After he was dys- **ge of Des**
charged of the cryme, whercof he was falsly **traction.**
accused to Pholomee, kynge of Egypte, ha-
uing for his amēdes of the layd kyng. xii. M
pouēd sterling, and his accuser to his bonde
man perpetually, the table, wherin detraction
was expresse, he painted in this fourme.

At the right hande was made lityng a
man, haupng longe cares, puttinge forth hys
hande to Detraction, who farre of came to-
wards him. About this man stode two wo-
men, that is to saye, ignorance, and suspition.
On the other side came Detraction, a wo-
mā aboue measure wel trimmed, al chaufed
and angry, hauing hir aspecte of loke like to
Id. ii. the

Governour.

the type, in shewing a manner of rage of fury.
In his left hande, he helde a brenning torch
of yronde, & with his other hand he drew by
the heare of his head, a yong mā, who held vp
his handes toward heuē, callinge god and the
saintes for witness: with his carre a man
pale, and euyl fauoured, beholding the yong
man intentifely, lyke vnto one that had ben
with longe sickness consumed, who se mouge
lyghtly cont:cte, to be enuie. Also there folo
wed two other women. that crymmed and
sparayled Detraction, the one was Treson
the other Fraude After folowed a woman,
in a mourning wede, blacke and ragged, and
she was called Repentance, who turnynge
hit backe, wepyng and sore ashamed, beholds
Meritee, who than approached.

In this type Apelles described Detrac
tion, by whom he hym selfe was in peryl.
Whych in mine oppynion is a right necessary
matter to be in tables of hanginges, set in e
uerie mans house that is in autoritie, consid
dering what damage and losse hath ensued,
and maye hereafter ensue, by this horrible pe
silence, false Detraction, to the auoydng
whereof, Luciane, who writeth of this pic
ture, giveth a notable counsaile, sayng.

If a wise man, when he dothe of the ho
nestie and vertue of the persō accused, should
kepe close his eares, and not open them ha
stily to them. whiche bee with this sickness
infected, and put Reason for a diligent porter
and

and watche, whych ought to examyne and let
 in the reportes that be good, and exclude and
 prohibite them that be contrarie. For it is a
 thyng to laughe at, and veraye vnlistyng, to
 o. bepe for thy house a keeper oz porter: and
 to leaue thine eares and mynd to al mē wyde
 open. Wherefore, whan anye person cometh
 to vs, to tel vs anye report oz complaynt: first
 it shall behoue vs throughe and euensye to
 consider the thing, not hauing respecte to the
 peres of hym that reporteth, oz to hys forme
 of lyuing, oz wysedome in speakyng. For the
 moze behemēt the reporter in persuadyng,
 the more dysgient and exacte trial and exami
 nation ought to be vsed. Therefore truste is
 not to be gotten to an other mans iudgemēt,
 muche lesse to the malice o. an accuser. But
 euery mā shal retyne to hym selfe the power,
 to enserche out the trouth, and leuynge the en
 uy oz dyspleasure to the detractour, shall pon
 der oz weye the matter indifferēly, that eues
 ryng thing, in such wyse being curiously insee
 ched and proued, he maye at his pleasure es
 ther loue oz hate hym, whom he hathe so sub
 stancially tryed. For in good fauor, to geue
 place to detraction at the begynnyng, is a
 thyng chyldyshe and base, and to be esteemed
 amonge the moste great inconueniences and
 mychiefes. These be well nyghe the wordes
 of Luciane: whether the counsaile be good,
 I remyt it to the wyle reders. Of one thyng
 I am sure, that by Detraction, as well ma

my good willes haue bene drowned, as also
 vertue and painful studie unrewarded, and
 many zelatours of fauourers of the publyke
 weale, haue ben discouraged,

Of consultation and counsayle, and in
 what forme they ought to be vsed in
 a publyke weale. cap. xxviii.

The griefes of diseases, whiche of Ari
 stotle be called the decayes of the pub
 lyke weale, being inuestigate, examy
 ned, & tried by the experieñce befoze ex
 pressed, this cometh the time & oportunitie of
 consultation: whereby, as I sayde, is prouid
 ed the remedies moſte neceſſarye for the hea
 ling of the ſayd greſes, or reparatiō of decay.

consulta
 tion.
 counsaile

Consultation, is the general denominatiō of the act, where
 in men do deuise together, and reason, what
 is to be done. Counſayle is the ſentence of ad
 vice particulerly geuen by euery man for that
 purpoſe aduanced. Conſultatiō hath reſpect
 to the time future or to tome, that is to ſaye,
 the end or purpoſe therof is adreſſed to ſome
 act or affaire, to be practiſed after their con
 ſultation. And yet be not all other tymes ex
 cluded, but firſt the ſtate of thinges preſente,
 ought to be examined, the power, aſſiſtence,
 and ſubſtance to be ſtremed, ſeblably thing
 ges paſſed, with much & long deliberation, to
 be reſolued & rolled in the mynde, and to be
 conf.

conferred with them that be present, & beinge exactly wayed the one agaynst the other, than to inuestigate or enquire exquisitely, the form and reason of the affaire, and in that studie to be resolved so effectually, that they whych be counsailours, maye beare with them out of the counsaile house, as it were on their shoulders, not onely what is to be folowed and exploited, but also by what meanes, or wayes it shalbe pursued, and howe the affaire maye be honorable, alio what is expedient and of necessitee, and howe muche is nedefull, and what space and length of tyme, and finallye howe the enterpryse, beinge achieved & brought to effect, maye be kept and reteined. For oftentimes, after exploitures hapneth occasions, eyther by assautes, or other inconvyniences of enemyes, or of to muche trust in fortunes as surace, or by disobedience or presumption of some persons, whom the thinge toucheth, that this last parte of Consultacion is omitted, or more rather neglected: where muche studye travel, & cost have utterly perished, not onely to the great detrimēt of infinite persons, but also to the subvertiō of most noble publike weales.

Consequer, it is to be diligently noted, that every counsell is to be approued by thre thinges principallye, that it be rightwysse, that it be good, & that it stande with honestye. That whych is rightwysse, is broughte in by reason, for nothinge is right, that is not ordred by reason. Goodnesse cometh of vertue, of

counsaille
proued by
iii. thinges

Dd. iiii. vertue

CONCERNING

vertue & reason procedeth honestye, wherfore
counsaile, being compact of these thre, maye be
namyd a perfecte Cappiane, a trustye coun-
saile, a playne and vnfeigned frende.

Titus li. Therfore in commendacion therof, **Titus li.**
Titus. li. I saye thus saith: Manye thynges be impeched or

let by nature, whiche by counsaile he maye
acheue. And verily the power of counsaile
is wonderful, hauing auctoritee as wel ouer
peace as martial enterpryse. And therefore
with good reason Cuius affirmeth in his booke
of offices, armes without the doores bee of
lyttel importace, if counsaile be not at home,
And he saith soone after. In thynges mooste
prosperous, the counsaile of frendes muste
be vled. Whiche is ratified by the auctour of

Eccl. li. the noble worke named Ecclesiasticus, say-
yng: Whp some, without counsaile see thou
doe nothing, and than after thy dede thou
make neuer repente the. The same auctour
geueth the noble preceptes concernyng this
matter, whiche of euery wyle man oughte to
be had in continuall memoery.

Eccl. li. Of fooles take thou no counsaile, for they
can loue nothing, but that pleasech them sel-
ues. Discouer not thy counsaile before a stran-
ger: for thou knowest not what thereof maye
happen. Unto euery man disclose not thy
hert, lest peraduenture he wyll geue to the afei-
gned thake, & after repente rebukefully of the.

Eccl. li. Fooles (as I suppose) be they, whiche be
moze ladde with affection than reason. And
whom

whom he calleth strangers, be those, of whose fidelitye and wysedome he is not assured: and in the general name of euery mā, maye be signified the lacke of election of counsaillours, whych he wolde be with a vigilant serche, and (as I mought saye) of all other mooste scrupulous.

¶ What in consultation is to be chiefly considered. cap. xxix.

The ende of all doctrine and studie, is good counsaill, wherunto as unto the principal point, whych the geometriciens counsaill do cal the Centre (whych by some authors be imagined in the forme of a cerkle) all doctrines don sende their effectes lyke unto equall lines, as it shall appere to them that wyl rede the booke of the noble Plato, wher he shall fynde, that the wysse Socrates, in euery inuestigation, whych is in forme of a consultation, useth his perswasions & demonstrations by the certayne rules and examples of sundry sciences prouynge thereby that the conclusion, and (as I mought saye) the perfection of them, is in good counsaill, wherin vertue maye be founden, beyng (as it were) his propre mansion or palatse, where his power onely appereth, concernyng gouernance, eyther of one person only, and than it is called mortal, or of a multitude, whych for a dyuersitee maye be called politike. **¶** Sens counsaill

Gouernour.

Counsaile is of suche an efficacie, and in thynges concernynge man hath suche a prehemynence. It is therefore expedient, that consultation (wherin counsaile is exprest) be very secrete, substa[n]cial, and profitable. Whiche to bringe to effecte, requyryth two thynges principally to be considered.

considera
tions of
counsaile
counsel
lers.
Sal. bel.
catilin.
counsel
lers many

Firste, that in every thyng, concernynge a publyke weale, no good counsailloure be omitted or passed ouer, but that his reasons therein, be hard to an ende. I call hym a good counsaillour, whiche (as Cesar saith) in the conituration of Catilina, whyles he consulted in doubtful matters, is voyde of all hate, frendshyppe, dyscoloure, or pittie. Howe necessary to a publyke weale it shall be, to haue in anye wyse, mens opinions declared, it is manifest to them, that do remembre, that in manye heades be diuers maners of wittes, some inclined to sharpnes and rigour, manye to pittie & compassion, dyuers to attemperance and meane betwene bothe extremities, some haue respect to tranquillitee only, other moze to welthe and commoditee, dyuers to muche reuoume and estimation in honoz. There be, that wyl speake all their mynde soberly, and perchaunce ryghte wel. Dyuers require to haue respecte and study, wherein is rather moze suretye, many wyl speake warily, for feare of dyspleasure, some moze boldet in verue, wyl not spare, to shewe their myndes playnely, dyuers wyl assent to that reasons whers

wherewith they suppose, that he, whiche is
chiefe in auctoriter, wyl be best plesed. These
vndoubtedly be the diuersities of wyttes.

And moreouer, where there is a great num-
bre of counsaylours, they all beyng hearde,
nedes must the counsayle be the more perfect.

For sometyme perchance one of them, whiche
in doctrine wyl, or experyence is, in least estis-
macion, maye hap to expresse some sentence
more auaylable to the purpose, wherein they
consult, than any that before came to the o-
thers remembrañces. No one man is of suche
perfection, that he can haue in an instante re-
membrance of al thing. Whiche I suppose

was considered by Romulus, the first kynge
of Romaynes, in the first constitucion of their
publyke weale, For hauing of hys owne peo-
ple but thye thousand fote men, and thye hund-
redd horsemen, he chace of the eldest and wis-
est of them all, one hundred counsaylours.
But to the more assercion of dyuers mens
sensures, I wyl declare a notable experyence,
whiche I late hapned to reade.

¶ Belinger Baldasme, a mā of greate wit,
singuler learning, & excellent wyledome. Who
was one of the counsaylours to Ferdinando,
kynge of Dragon) when any thinge doubtful,
or weightye matter was consulted of, where
he was present, after warde when he had sou-
ped at home in his house, he wolde cal before
him al his seruantes, & merely purposynge to
them some feigned question or fable, wherein

was

Dionis.
halicanas.
seus.

Governour.

was craftely hid, the matter, whiche remay-
ned doubtful, woulde merelpe demaunde of
euery man hys particuler oppynion, and ges-
uing good eare to their iudgements, wolde
conferre together euery mans sentence, and
with good deliberacion ponderynge their va-
lue, he at the laste perceiued, whiche was the
truest and moste apt to his purpose: and be-
ing in this wyse furnyshed, translatynge cas-
pes and thynges feigned, to matter serious &
true, he among the kynge's counsailours, in
geyynge good and substanciall aduise, had
alway preheminence. How much comodities
that suppose ye mought be taken of the sen-
tences of manys wyse and experte counsail-
ours? And lyke as Calchas, as Homer wys-
teth, knewe by diuination thynges presente,
thynges to come, and theym that were pas-
sed, so counsailours garnyshed with lernynge,
and also experience, shall thereby consider,
the places, tymes, and personsages, exami-
nyng the state of the matter, than practi-
sed, and expendynge the power, assistance, and
substance, also resoluyng longe and oftenti-
mes in their myndes, thynges that be passed,
and conferrynge theym to the matters that
be than in experyence, studiously doe seke out
the reason and maner, howe that, whiche is
by them approued, maye be brought to effect.
And suche mens reasons wolde be through-
ly hearde, and at length: For the wyser that
a man is, in sayynge hys wysedome increa-
set,

Homer?
340 p1

fitte, his reason is more lively, and quicke
 sense aboundeth. And to the more parte of
 men, when they be chaufed in reasoninge, ar-
 gumentes, solutions, examples, similitudes,
 and experimentes dooe resort, and (as it
 were) flowe vnto their remembraunce.

Che second consideration to be had
 in consultation. Cap. xxx.

The seconde consideration is, that the
 general and vniuersal estate of the pu-
 blyke weale, wolde be preferred in con-
 sultation, before any particuler com-
 munitie: and the profite or damage, whiche may
 happen within oure owne countreys, wolde
 bee more considred, than that, whiche maye
 happē from other regions: whiche to beleue,
 commune reason and experience leadeth vs.
 For who commendeth those gardyners, that
 wyl put all their dylygence in trimmyng or
 keepynge delycatelye one knotte or bedde of
 herbes, sufferyng all the remnantes of their
 gardeyne to be subuerted with a greate num-
 ber of molles, and to attende at no tyme for
 the takynge and destroyng of them, untill
 the herbes, whersein they haue employed all
 their laboure, be also touned vp and per-
 shed, and the molles increased in so infinitye
 numbes, that no industry or labour, maye
 suffice to consume them: whereby the labour
 is frustrate, and all the gardeyne made vns-
 profit

Generall
 thynges be
 fore parti-
 cular.

profitable, and also vnpleasante. In this multitude to the gardeine maye bee resembled the publyke weale, to the gardyners, the gouernours and counsaylours, to the knottes or beddes, sundry degrees of personages, to the molles, vices and sundry enuoytees.

el. off. li. i

Wherfore the consultation is but of a small effecte, wherein the vniuersal estate of the publyke weale doth not occupye the more parte of the tyme, and in that generaltee every particular estate, be not diligently ordered. For as Culli saith: They that consulte for parte of the people, and neglecte the residue, they bying into the citee or countrey a thing most peruiuous, that is to saie, sedition and dyscord. Wherof it hapned, that some wyl seme to fauour the multitude, other be enclined to leane to the beste sort, fewe do studie for all vnpuersally. Which hath bene the cause, that not only Athenes (which Culli dothe name) but also the Citee & empire of Rome, with diuers other citees & realmes, haue decayed and ben finallye broughte in extreme desolation.

Plato in lacheie.

Also Plato, in hys booke of Fortitude, saith in the person of Socrates: Whan so euer a man seeketh a thyng, for cause of an other thyng, the consultation oughte to be alwaye of that thyng, for whose cause the other thinge is sought for, and not of that, whiche is sought for because of the other thinge. And surely, wyse menne do consider, that damage often tymes hapneth, by abusing

spynge the due fourme of consultation : men
lyke euyl Whisicions, slypynge for medicines,
et they perfectly knowe the sickeneses : and
as euyl marchauntes do vnto the wares
res and commodities of straungers , whyles
straungers be robbing of their owne cofers.

¶ Therefore these thinges, that I haue re-
herced, concernynge consultation, ought to be
of al men in auctoritee substantiallyl ponder-
red and most vigilantly obserued, yf they in-
tende to bee their publyke weale profytas-
ble: for the whyche purpose onely, they be cal-
led to be gouernours.

¶ And thus I conclude, to write anye more
of consultation, whych is the last parte of mo-
ral sapience, and the begynnynge of sapience
politike.

¶ Nowe al ye readers, that desyre to haue
your children to be gouernours, or in anye o-
ther auctoritee in the publyke weale of your
countrey, if ye bring them vp, & instruct them
in such fourme, as in this boke is declared,
they shal than seme to all men, worthy to be
in auctoritee, honour, and noblenes. And all
that is vnder their gouernance shal prosper
and come to perfection, and as a precious
stone in a ryche corbe, they shal be beholde-
n and wondred at, and after the deathe of their
body, their soules for their endeuour, shal be
incorparably rewarded of the geuer of wises-
dome, to whom only be geuen eternall glory,
Amen.

¶ I A I S.